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CHRISTIAN FREEDOM

THE BAIRD LECTURE FOR 1913

CHRISTIAN . . . FREEDOM

BY
WILLIAM MALCOLM MACGREGOR
D.D.
PRINCIPAL, TRINITY COLLEGE, GLASGOW

NEW EDITION
WITH NEW INTRODUCTION

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK AND LONDON

PREFATORY NOTE

HAD the fashion of dedications still prevailed, I should have liked to associate this book with the name of the Baird Trustees by whose most generous courtesy a new precedent was created, and one from outside the borders of the Church of Scotland was for the first time invited to deliver lectures on this distinguished foundation. That act was much more than a personal compliment, it was a token of goodwill to my Church, and as such it was applauded in many quarters without regard to the individual selected. For this reason, I might have been pardoned if I had dedicated the book—unworthy as it is of such promotion—to that Church of Scotland which is to be, in which the ideals and the virtues of long-sundered Churches shall, in God's mercy, finally be brought together. That Church has long lived in the hearts of many as an object of faith and hope; and, in spite of outburstings of suspicion here and there, we look for the fulfilling of that hope.

The lectures were addressed to popular audiences in Glasgow and in Edinburgh, and, though they are here expanded and furnished with illustrative notes, they have not lost their original character. Though numbered now as chapters, they have something of

the element of repetition which the lecture form involves ; and since the topic is " the priesthood of all believers," it is fitting that the argument should be developed in such a way as to appeal to others than experts. I have sought to acquaint myself with the relevant literature, and students will find that I have frequently differed from many of the chief authorities ; but such dissents are often barely noted without being dwelt upon and justified. Anything like a detailed commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was excluded by the conditions of delivery ; and it would have been superfluous, as sterling books are available, and the Epistle itself not only is inspired by a single idea but is singularly free from exegetical difficulties. It is for all time the declaration of the profound significance of an individual experience of Christ, and of the many directions in which such an experience may serve for guidance and for impulse. The attempt to develop and to present this theme may seem audacious, as it is virtually what Luther attempted in view of the necessities of his own time. All that one can do who, in such an undertaking, follows a man of supreme genius, is to bind himself neither to imitate nor to avoid, but steadily to pursue a path of his own. Luther's training and experience, and the circumstances of his age made him find in Paul a teacher more dogmatic and less various than we now acknowledge, and it will be found throughout the Lectures that I have oftener referred to Luther's Letters than to the Commentary on Galatians for the clearing or the illustration of Paul's meaning.

When Paul's writings are considered as a whole, one apparent anomaly may be felt; he was a supreme creator and organizer of Churches, and was forced by urgent practical interests to attach importance to the community; and yet when the ultimate sources of his certainty are explored, he is found to be almost fiercely individualistic. The longer I have worked, the deeper this impression has grown; and though I have not ignored or disparaged his uniqueness as an inspired man, I have endeavoured to present him in his due relation not only to Jeremiah, but to Luther, and Pascal, and Vinet, and the greater Friends, as well as to mystical individualists, like Emerson, outside of the Church. To all these men it has seemed most certainly possible to have a direct apprehension of the spiritual realities, when the Church or any other society falls away, and man is left alone with the Father of his spirit. This is the distinctive part of Mysticism. In their many dialects, mystics have marked out such stages of advance as the familiar *purgation*, *illumination*, and *union*. "Simple people conceive that we are to see God as if He stood on that side and we on this," says Meister Eckhart; "but it is not so: God and I are one in the act of my perceiving Him." But such a reflection is not primary, and the essential discovery of Mysticism is that God can be apprehended not by logical reasoning but directly by the soul. This is what Paul describes as "beholding with face unveiled," and in anyone who has attained to it, this becomes so real a source of knowledge that it serves to correct and to supple-

ment all that he has received by tradition or at second hand. In spite of the abundant talking about Mysticism, there is to-day a disappointing failure in respect to the individual courage which it supplies; men and women move only with their society, refusing to trust their own souls. And for this reason, Paul's assertion of the supremacy of the individual experience of God seems to me quite peculiarly admonitory.

I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to many who have helped me, and in particular to these two excellent scholars—my brother and my son—who have patiently read the proofs. It is with abundant gratitude to the Lord, who orders our way in all things for us, that I end this often interrupted task.

EDINBURGH, 1914.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO A NEW EDITION

THIS book of mine has for years been out of print. It shared the fortune of many which appeared on the eve of the War, when the vast world-interest swept the common mind like a flood. With paternal complacence I had fancied it possessed of some worth and quality, and acknowledgments of this have come unsought from many quarters; but judgment seemed to have passed, and there was no appeal. In reading Galatians with my classes I have been glad to be able to refer the men to these Lectures for a fuller discussion than is elsewhere available of some of the more intimate and vital questions which the Apostle presents, and at this I was content to leave the matter. But now my publishers have urged that the book, as it first was issued, should have another chance. Inevitably, after nearly twenty years, much in it might have gained by rewriting, but what is essential to Paul's thought in the Epistle—that religion is an individual concern at first-hand, and that the ministry must ultimately be based, not on ecclesiastical formalities but on the direct call of Christ—is here sufficiently presented; and thus, with no alteration and no

addition except this note, I have allowed the book to appear again.

The Galatian letter certainly possesses one of the unfailing qualities of a classic: it is not for an age, but for all time, and again and again it has been found to speak arrestingly to the particular questions of the day. Schmiedel describes it as "the charter of freedom not only from the Mosaic Law, but from every yoke imposed on the religious life as an external condition of salvation." In the great fight for the Gospel appointed for him Luther found in this his most effective weapon, but even he in no way exhausted its possible relevance. He singled out so much of its message as met the needs of his age, but other times have brought other questions, and to these also Paul's passionate words apply.

He tells the story, for example, of an Apostle who found himself in the midst of a religious movement at Antioch, where lives were being changed, and spiritual gifts received, and a frank, new fellowship of Jew and Gentile was coming into being. All sat at one table because all alike, and on the same terms, owed their new life to Jesus Christ, and this unity superseded every ground of difference. At first Peter had recognized the demands of the situation, and as a Christian he shared in the Love-feast with his fellow-Christians, but afterwards, through fear of what the Mother Church at Jerusalem might think, he broke away. He did not deny that these Greek converts were Christians, since Christ had received them and given them of His Spirit; but they lacked the time-honoured Jewish authentica-

tion, and accordingly they could not, without some marked reserve, be received by James and Peter. Thus, as it seemed to Paul, Christ, who holds the keys, who opens and no man can shut, was no longer to be the Lord without dispute in His own house and at His own Table. Conditions which clearly satisfied Him did not satisfy the authorities in His Church, and to Paul this appeared a presumptuous and an ungodly intrusion. A sect, which is content to be merely a sect, may introduce sectarian tests of its own ; but the Holy Catholic Church, in which Jesus Christ is sole Lord, is bound by its obedience to Him to admit men always on Catholic terms—that is, on Christ's own terms. He asked for faith, for repentance and a new obedience, and where these were found He asked no more. Paul's one guiding rule for the Church was that it should express the mind of Christ, and any limitations or exclusions which He had disregarded, even if they were based on the most ancient tradition, must be dismissed as without authority. In modern phrase, these at best were sectional and not, in any strict sense, catholic. This is one plea which Paul stormily presents in the Galatian Letter, and its relevance for to-day is not obscure.

Another point in which Paul here challenges the attention of our time is his assertion of the place of the individual in religion. Sir Walter Raleigh declares of poetry that it must always "begin at the beginning : it is original or it is nothing." Inheritance or environment may foster, but they can never by themselves suffice ; in his own heart the

poet must discover a springing fountain of delight. And this is exactly Paul's conception of religion: "it is original or it is nothing." In all periods of religious slackness the individual inclines to screen himself within the crowd, as if God always dealt with men in the lump, and in our age particular influences have worked in this direction. For one thing, in the region of thought, Ritschl, who has set so deep a mark on recent thinking and preaching, indulged a morbid shyness of what he miscalled mysticism, by which he meant anything like a private relation of the soul with God. To him the object of justification was not primarily the individual but the Christian community, so that anyone participates in it only through attaching himself to the community. He may rejoice in the experience of pardon and acceptance as personal, but essentially this is secondary: in God's thought it is the community which comes first and not the individual. Strong arguments can be adduced in support of this view; "a developed personality is made possible only by a society," as Principal Galloway has said, "and a self, divorced from any social medium, would part with much of its meaning and value." Ritschl himself, with many considerable scholars, even attempts a Pauline defence of the position; but quite certainly it is not the teaching of Galatians, in which the individual man is set nakedly in personal relation with God, a conception from which the religious moderate of every generation instinctively recoils. He fain would hide in the crowd as Adam hid in the trees of the Garden

from the presence of the Lord, but Paul declares this futile. As Dr. Galloway says again—"the interaction of the man and the society intensifies rather than diminishes the distinctive consciousness of our own rights, duties and responsibilities. However close we come, we still remain apart." And Vinet more grandly and passionately says—"How can we fling into the melting-pot of a society the being whom God has set apart, whom He has honoured as an individual with His love, and if all be spoken—whom He has honoured with His anger?" The experience of many mission preachers in recent years has discovered a strong reaction against the heroic Puritan notion of individual dealings with God, and at this point again the message of the Galatian Letter is still unexhausted.

An essential part of Paul's assertion of the individual is his claim that each man for himself, with "the eyes of the heart," as he says, may and ought to see God. James Martineau somewhere defines revelation as the communication to a man of something which he has "neither learned nor earned." He has not been taught it, nor has he by mere labour and study established the truth of it; it has come to him, and he is sure. This is what Pascal calls knowing by the way of the heart—by a kind of noble intuition, for "the heart has its reasons of which mere reasoning knows nothing." This is exactly what Paul claims in the Epistle: "I did not receive my Gospel from man nor was I taught it: it came to me by revelation from Jesus Christ." Since God is alive and is never wholly silent, such a

form of experience must always seem probable ; but whenever men begin to distrust their own souls, they fall back upon the subsidiary processes of reasoning and argument, as if these could account for all, and as if it were God's will to save men by dialectic. And since there is a great deal which cannot be proved by mere argument, the ranges of assured faith draw in. Many preachers to-day are so concerned about defending and vindicating the Gospel that they have almost forgotten how to declare it ; whilst on the hearers' side, where faith of a sort persists, the desolating judgment of Isaiah must often be spoken—" Their fear of Me is a commandment of men, which has been taught them." It is all derivative and at second hand, whereas it ought to be a primary and intimate conviction of their souls. " The good mysticism enables men to feel what cannot completely be put in words, for inspiration—that is the good mysticism." (Vinet.) And this certainly is also Paul's claim.

One peculiar glory and delight of this direct knowledge by the heart has always been that it secures to men the sense of attainment. They are not left in a world of surmise or even of increasing probabilities, but certain central things are grasped and known and sure. Peter speaks of men as " taking home to themselves the end of their faith, the salvation of their souls " ; Paul says—" I know whom I have trusted " ; and the Lord Himself declared that " it is life eternal (a life without bounds) to know the Only True God." " To know "—and not merely to guess at or to seek for. Dr. Philip

Wicksteed, in his enormously impressive discussion of "the religion of time and of eternity," insists that one peculiar weakness of our modern fashions in religion is that "we have lost the higher meaning of the word *enjoy*." The notion of what at best is a continuous progress and the call to struggle and activity in quest of this have blurred for many the truth in which Augustine and the great mediævals rejoiced that a man in this life may actually attain to "That which is." Man's chief end is not only to glorify God, but to enjoy God. There is a life worthy to be lived not only for what it leads on to, but for what it is. But now we seek, says Dr. Wicksteed, "not with the hope of finding, but on the understood condition that we shall not find, for this endless progress towards perfection turns out to be only another expression for the endless deferring of perfection." This mischief needs to be redressed by a return to Christ's own declaration that the life eternal is more than a hope of the future, it may be an attainment of to-day, for it is to know the Only True God. And the possibility of this in the mid course of our mortal life is nowhere more pointedly asserted than in our Epistle.

But in talking of the Galatian Letter in its application to the life of to-day it would be inexcusable to omit what is central in it—Paul's assertion of the Divine initiative in our salvation and of man's utter indebtedness. That is a notion which strong men have commonly welcomed, and which the peevish self-assertiveness of weak men will always resent. They do not like to be told by Paul or Augustine or

Luther that they must come to God with empty hands, that in their renovated life He must count for everything, and that all their virtuous busy-ness must be regarded as the consequence and not as the occasion of what He does. Of this fretful mood our age has seen too much, and it is surely a sign of returning health that in Continental Protestantism and even in Britain there should have been so startling a revival of the ancient thought of the Divine initiative. Dr. Barth is a prophet much more than a theologian, and when he tries to be a theologian his handling of his ideas is often obscure and fumbling; but as a prophet he certainly has touched a sensitive point in contemporary feeling, and has elicited a quick response. The background of his appeal is, of course, the widespread disaster occasioned by the War, and still more the moral situation revealed even by the occurrence of the War. Here was a world confiding in its own resource and contrivance, and it ran upon this unimagined bankruptcy. What hope of remedy can be found except in ceasing from man and concerning oneself with God in the inscrutable majesty of His ways? It is unfortunate that the vehement recoil from Ritschlianism in this movement has given it too strong a bent away from Jesus and the New Testament. The God so powerfully proclaimed is far too much a Deus Absconditus—an Unknown God. Hollmann reports that in the Judaism of the period before Jesus when the name Jehovah—the personal name of the Covenant God—tended to fall out of use, the whole conception of God became "paler, duller,

remoter"; so I think it may be said that before the Barthian movement can be wholeheartedly welcomed it must recover its balance and get back to Jesus in its noble assertion of the Divine initiative. It is through Him that we became believers in God, says Peter. At the climax of his glorious vision, when Dante seemed to see the Very God in Trinity, he saw yet scarcely understood; but when he scanned the second Circle more closely he saw that "it was painted with our effigy, and thereat my sight was all committed to it." So Paul, in the direct apprehensions of the Divine which he claims in this Epistle, everywhere gives Jesus—the human Jesus a central place. Paul's whole preaching, as he says, was a picturing of Christ as crucified; his master rule of conduct was to fulfil the law of Christ, which meant bearing men's burdens with them as Jesus did; he accounts for one outstanding feature in the ordinary Christian of his day by saying that God had sent to them the filial temper of His Son, so that they all could cry, just as Jesus did, "Abba, Father!" For the healing of the religious disease of our time we must restore to its ancient place the thought of the self-revealing, Redeeming God, and Paul can help us here, because, in his awe-struck apprehension of the unsearchable wisdom and the unchallengeable authority of the most High, he never loses sight of the character of Jesus.

GLASGOW, 1931.

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CHAPTER I

THE TYRANNY OF A TRADITION

"Surely the individual, the person in the singular number, is the more fundamental phenomenon, and the social institution, of whatever grade, is but secondary and ministerial."
—WILLIAM JAMES.

AS far back as history extends, it is possible to discern, in one phase or another, the process of the ancient controversy between the individual and the institution. In turn they assert themselves, each seeking to disparage and exclude the other. "Prophets expect everything from God," says Duhm ; [1] "the mere followers believe that they have received of God through their masters all that is important, and now they have only to order, regulate and organize what they have received." The two forces are not of equal persistence, and, for generations together, nothing may appear but a certain passive acquiescence in what is customary. The institution is in possession and does not need to obtrude its authority, for the mass of new-comers are sure to accept that which visibly holds the field. But from time to time there appears a man, protestant born, whose instinct it is to interrogate and to

[1] *The Ever Coming Kingdom* (Eng. trans.), p. 14.

dispute. For him that which exists has no peculiar sanctity, and the fact that it has stood so long is rather a suggestion that the time for change has fully come. So his challenge rings out. The ancient things are put upon their trial ; and if he has energy and truth enough upon his side, the forecast of Jeremiah (himself a chief among the heretics) may be justified, and " in the day of their visitation " these long-established powers may perish (10 [15]). What many lenient generations have allowed may suddenly be dissolved, and a new order introduced.

No one need imagine that, in this conflict, all the argument is on either side. A religion, as Dr. Inge [1] puts it, " must have an institutional as well as a mystical element. . . . Just as, if the feeling of immediate communion with God has faded, we shall have a dead Church worshipping ' a dead Christ,' as Fox the Quaker said of the Anglican Church of his day ; so, if the seer and prophet expel the priest, there will be no discipline and no cohesion." And, on the other hand, I may quote two sentences from William James [2] about his friend, Thomas Davidson : " The memory of Davidson will always strengthen my faith in personal freedom and its spontaneities, and make me less unqualifiedly respectful than ever of ' civilization,' with its herding and branding, its licensing and degree-giving, its authorizing and appointing, and, in general, regulating and administering by system the lives of human beings. Surely the individual, the person in the singular number, is

[1] *Christian Mysticism* (2nd edit.), p. 329.
[2] *Memories and Studies*, p. 102.

the more fundamental phenomenon, and the social institution, of whatever grade, is but secondary and ministerial." These competing forces have been ingeniously compared to the oxygen and nitrogen in the atmosphere,—the one which quickens life and action, and the other which tends to neutralize and conserve ; and it is wholesome for energetic reformers to remember that, in the atmosphere, the more active element exists only in the proportion of one in five. " The active, voluntary part of a man," says Walter Bagehot,[1] " is very small ; and if it were not economized by a sleepy sort of habit, its results would be null. It is the dull, traditional habit of mankind that guides most men's actions, and is the steady frame in which each new artist must set the picture that he paints. . . . Other things being equal, yesterday's institutions are by far the best for to-day ; they are the most ready, the most influential, the most easy to get obeyed, the most likely to retain the reverence which they inherit, and every other must win." In such a debate we are not required to be partisans, even though an apostle takes a side.

What is essential is that the rights of the individual should not be overlooked, and that even in the interest of the institution itself, which cannot be maintained in health if these rights are denied. " The voice of the majority," says Dr. MacCunn,[2] " is more likely to be *Vox Diaboli* than *Vox Dei*, if it be not, at bottom, the voice of individual judgment and personal conviction. . . . It is only out of men

[1] *The English Constitution*, chap. I.
[2] *The Ethics of Citizenship*, p. 116.

prepared, if need be, to withstand the majority to the face, that a reasonable majority can be made."

Our Lord Jesus, who came to a society sorely hampered by traditions, threw all His weight on the side of freedom. In that age, the expectation of upheaval was lively amongst the pious, and it is not surprising that many of His pictorial phases should have been interpreted in conformity with that devout hope. But His characteristic outlook was in a very different direction. He anticipated a community growing slowly, and affecting the world as leaven works upon the mass of dough; yet He gave no laws for its guidance. He appointed no ritual. He outlined no constitution. In the Church of His education He had everywhere met with men interested and even engrossed with religion of a sort, who yet had no fresh spring of piety in their hearts. For their religion they were indebted to imitation and to tradition. Their memories were stored with sound opinions, which they were able to defend on the authority of famous men, but they had no faculty for originating such opinions. They could not recognize the truth itself unless it came with the commendation of antiquity. To Jesus such a condition appeared disastrous, for religion, in His view, was an original thing, just as Professor Raleigh [1] says that poetry is. It "is original or it is nothing. . . . All poetry begins at the beginning. . . . The poet, so far as he is a poet, accepts nothing on authority. The truths that he discovers may have been discovered by many before him; but what makes them

[1] *Wordsworth*, p. 11.

worth communicating is that now he has discovered them again, reaching them, it may be, by a new track, but, in any case, by his own efforts, so that they come to him as the crown of his own labours, the fruit of his own sorrows and struggles and joys." With the alteration of a word, that might serve as a description of religion at its best, for it also begins from the beginning. The hopes and joys and confidence it imparts have been the possession of many before, but there is no title on which a man can *securely* hold them except that which is given in his own experience. When Peter hailed his Master as "the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 16 [16]), uttering not a customary phrase but a personal audacity, Jesus declared him to be the first stone surely laid in the new temple He had come to rear. His whole Church, as He conceived it,[1] was to be composed of men of that temper, with eyes and heart and courage of their own. Like a true teacher, He refrained even from imposing His mind upon them, for He wished them to make free use of their own minds. If two or three were gathered in His name,

[1] In strong contrast with this I may set some words of Newman's (*Letters and Correspondence*, II, [357]): "Our difficulties in faith and obedience are just those which a subject in a decaying empire has in matters of allegiance. We sometimes do not know what is of authority and what is not, who has credentials and who has not: when local authorities are exceeding their power and when they are not: how far old precedents must be modified in existing circumstances and how far not." To some people this unquestionably will seem a fair ground of objection, but the objection really lies against the ordinance of Christ, for it was thus that He framed His Kingdom.

He gave them full authority to judge on moral questions; and He was so confident that they would judge rightly that He promised them that what they bound on earth should be bound in heaven. "The Evangel," says Wellhausen,[1] "proclaims religious individualism, the freedom of the children of God."

In harmony with this conception, our Lord boldly broke off from His friends whatever shackles of merely conventional duty were detaining them. When one of His hearers urged that he could do nothing until his old father was dead and in his grave, Jesus bade him leave such cares to other members of the family; the dead may bury their dead (Mt. 8 [22]). Since the lines of the new society would at every possible angle traverse the lines of what was customary, He pressed upon the multitude the absolute necessity of decision. "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me" (Mt. 10 [37]). This sense of a brotherhood superseding older ties appears most touchingly in the Christian Catacombs, where men and women of position, who might have lain beside their kindred, have come, of their own choice, to take their place along with nameless men from far lands, to whom they were united by nothing except their faith.[2] It is true that this has been remarked of other religions than Christianity. M. Cumont [3] says that whilst "the worship of the gods of Rome was a civic duty, that of foreign

[1] *Israel. und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 356.

[2] So Boissier, *Promenades Archéologiques*, p. 150.

[3] Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, p. 68.

gods was the expression of a personal faith." And, coming still closer to our point, he says : [1] "Whatever part may be assigned to the instinct of imitation and the contagion of example, one always comes at last to a series of individual conversions. . . . The tie which formerly bound them in devotion to city or tribe is broken ; and, in place of the ancient groupings, there are substituted communities of initiates, who all regard each other, wherever they come, as brothers." But one far-reaching distinction must be made, even in this matter, between Christianity and Mithraism or the worship of Isis. At its home, Isis worship was much like any other national cult, and it was mainly the accident of foreignness which made it an isolating force. But Jesus was deliberately an individualist in His method ; He gathered men one by one ; His teaching and His call were constantly addressed to the individual man.

But though He thought thus of the new life, the religion which He proclaimed was born into a world in which custom was enthroned ; and the writings even of His greatest servants bear traces of confusions which He, by implication, had condemned. As soon as they were left to themselves, His disciples began to yield to the more servile spirit. It seemed as if their boldness had all been spent in His society, for originalities which had been encouraged and commended by Him began to be quoted as binding precedents. Since they had once shown themselves possessed of eyes, the humble people gathering round them were left to feel that they need not have any.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 41–2.

To the period of seeing there succeeded a period of remembrance, in which men's business was to repeat the words and copy the behaviour of the Apostles. Within the new community a standard of experience and propriety was fixed, in which even the gropings of the Eleven had a place. It was natural for them to think that they were to be Jews, as their Master, in outward seeming, had been, worshipping in the Temple and observing the Feasts; and with such a conception of duty one need not quarrel. But when they suggested that their successors must follow the same uncertain and meandering track, with Christian impulses, fearless and original, confused by Jewish traditions, they clearly were in error. It was natural that their minds should be like a palimpsest, with fragments of an older writing dimly appearing below the Christian text; but it was against nature that those who had not known the Synagogue should be forced to learn to think and feel as if they had. There is an old grumble against our railway system that a gauge was adhered to which had become customary when traction was all by horses. A broader gauge, it was contended, would have allowed of heavier wagons and greater speed; but, in front of every locomotive and checking its progress, there trotted some phantom of the forgotten tram horse. That is scarcely an exaggerated image of the way in which the movement of the growing Church was obstructed by this precedent of uncertainty and groping. The lesson of the Transfiguration had not been learned, for though Jesus in their vision was the central figure, yet Moses and Elijah held their place

on either side, demanding a consideration only less than His. Men looked to their leaders, watching how they behaved, more than to the Lord who is always asking for new obedience; and thus the wonder and the freshness of the revelation faded, and the Church was beginning to bear a certain aspect of stereotyped formality. That is the common fate of human institutions; they constantly tend to return to the earth. Even of the lowest type of religion—of Animism—Dr. John Warneck[1] reports that it "gives the impression of a worship no longer understood and become an empty ceremony. Former generations clothed in myths and names of God their astonished and reverential thoughts about the inconceivable powers of sun and earth; but now they repose listlessly on the inheritance of their fathers, and scarcely a trace of reverence can be found." Tennyson's "Northern Farmer"[2] heard the parson:

A bummin' awaäy loike a buzzard-clock ower my 'eäd,
An' I niver knaw'd whot a meän'd but I thowt a 'ad summat to saäy,
An' I thowt a said whot a owt to 'a said, an' I coom'd awaäy.

That is Christianity sunk to the level of paganism; but the description which Froude gives of the religion in which he was brought up has little more of spontaneity in it. "People went to church because they liked it, because they knew they ought to go, and because it was the custom. They had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them

[1] *The Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 99.
[2] "Northern Farmer—Old Style."

never crossed their minds. Christianity had wrought itself into the constitution of their natures. It was a part of the existing order of the universe, as little to be debated about as the movements of the planets or the changes of the seasons." In such an attitude there is much to commend; but, at its best, it belongs [1] rather to the school of the Pharisees than to that of Jesus, whose supreme authority was the immediate intuition of God in the individual soul.

It was when the tyranny of tradition was thus tending to limit any free impulse in religion that Paul wrote the first of his central Epistles, which has been called [2] "the most remarkable letter that ever was written." He belonged to the slender company of those who speak not to one generation only but to every age in turn, and thus it is said by Schmiedel [3] that "Galatians will in all times be the charter of freedom, not only from the Mosaic Law, but from every yoke that is imposed upon the religious life as an external condition of salvation." "This Epistle marks an epoch in the history of man," says Godet; "it is the ever precious document of his spiritual emancipation." The letter is marked by an almost passionate unity of subject. "It is not a carefully framed series of sentences and paragraphs," says Sir

[1] Cf. Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 167: "The conflict between the Pharisees and Jesus was between two fundamentally different conceptions of religion, viz. that in which the supreme authority was Torah, and that in which the supreme authority was the immediate intuition of God in the individual soul."

[2] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 85.

[3] *Encycl. Biblica*, art. Galatians.

William Ramsay,[1] " but an absolute unity, a single expression, a crystallization of Paul's mind at a moment of intense feeling ; or, to change the metaphor, it is a volcanic flood poured forth in one moment and in one effort." " No other Epistle has sprung to the same extent as this from a single thought,[2] and no Epistle pours itself out like this in one stream, strong, stormy, unrestrainable, uninterrupted." And in a vivid and splendid mataphor, Glöel says, " it is not a sermon, it is not a treatise ; it is a sword-cut, delivered in the hour of extreme peril by a combatant assailed by dangerous foes." An Epistle which is thus described cannot be *fully* understood apart from the situation which gave occasion for it, although it is possible to make far too much of that situation. Keats,[3] in one of his letters, admits that " when a man has arrived at a certain ripeness of intellect, any one grand and spiritual passage may serve him as a starting-point for all ' the two-and-thirty palaces ' " ; and in Paul's case, an obscure incident in the history of an almost unknown group of Churches must not be taken as *accounting* for this great Epistle ; at most, it gave him an occasion for delivering his mind of convictions which had long been present with him.

The letter is so rich in biographic suggestion as to give us most of the information we require. The Churches to which it was addressed were scattered over a district through which, as it seems, the Apostle

[1] *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, p. 474.
[2] Ewald, *Paulus*, p. 55.
[3] *Letters*, p. 73.

was travelling on his way to some other field, when he was arrested by illness (4 13). He was a sedulous watcher of providences, and though he was conscious of the huge disadvantage under which, as a sick man, he accosted strangers (4 14), he caught at the opportunity of preaching. Like John Knox, he could scarcely show himself in any place without some infection of life appearing; and from these Galatians he received the kindliest welcome,[1] and had the joy of seeing a community formed which exhibited all the tokens of genuine Christian life. They counted themselves the happiest of men, he reports (4 15); they had received the Spirit, and by the Spirit they wrought marvels (3 5); and he saw them running famously in their new career (5 7). Their cordiality drew out his heart towards them, and no Epistle is richer in touches of winning affection. He bears witness that they were ready to pluck out their eyes for him (4 15), and he, in turn, professes a mother's yearning tenderness for them (4 19). "My children," he calls them (4 19); and the expression has vastly greater force when used by him than it has on the lips of John, whose endearments were habitual. Even his

[1] Moffatt (*N.T. Introd.*, p. 90) takes Paul's acknowledgment of their cordiality as one proof that the Galatian Churches are not to be looked for in Antioch and its neighbour cities, where he had a somewhat stormy reception. "There is not a hint in the Epistle of any persecution or suffering endured by him in his evangelization of Galatia." But a preacher who is urged to give the same sermon again the next Sabbath (Acts 13 42) has little to complain of, and it was not Paul's habit to magnify discomforts. The presence of adversaries was to him an attraction rather than the reverse (I Cor. 16 9).

reproaches are graciously turned, for there was that between him and them which could not be forgotten. "Will you not come to meet me, when I, a Jew born, have come so far to meet you? Do not think that you have hurt my feelings," he says (4 12) "Christ makes me confident about you that you and I will be of one mind in this" (5 10). Half playfully he says (3 1), "you have been bewitched, I think, and lost your heads." "Come," he says in one place (4 21), "and let me tell you a story [1] in which you will see my point." And in the closing words of his letter he makes one last appeal to their affection (6 17): "look at my wounds, the marks of scourging and hard usage, and then trouble me if you can." "Paul does not write a dogmatic essay," says Deissmann; [2] "but with all the flame of his nature he pleads for the restoration of the old affection."

He seems to have visited them a second [3] time, and discovered reason [4] for disquiet, which gave colour to his preaching at that time. "As we said

[1] So Findlay, *Expos. Bible*; Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 68.

[2] *Paulus*, p. 14.

[3] τὸ πρότερον (4 13): Lake (*The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 266) argues from New Testament usage of the word that nothing more than "formerly" is meant; but Lightfoot thinks the rendering in the text "the probable interpretation." So more dogmatically Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, pp. 405, 414, and Moffatt, *N.T. Introd.*, p. 84.

[4] Moffatt (*N.T. Introd.*, p. 85) thinks this doubtful, mainly because of certain indications of "surprise" at the opening of the Epistle. But the suggestion of the phrases quoted above is unmistakable, that Paul had already laboured to put them on their guard.

before, so say I now again," he writes, betraying his sense of urgent danger, " if any man preach any other Gospel than that ye have received, God's curse be on him " (1 [9]). And the character of this " other Gospel " appears in a phrase in the fifth chapter (5 [3]) : " I testify *again* to every man who is letting himself be circumcised that he becomes bound to keep the whole law." During the absence which followed, the assault upon them had been pressed by some man of standing (5 [10]), belonging to the narrower party of the Jerusalem Church (Acts 15 [1] ; Gal. 2 [12]). Ramsay [1] thinks that the Galatians were unduly influenced by this man " because of a lack of individuality and freedom in the Oriental mind as distinguished from the Western," but this defect belongs to all simple peoples in East and West alike. " The individual among savages has but a thin and meagre personality," says Dr. Jane Harrison ; [2] " high emotional tension is to him only caused and maintained by a thing felt socially ; it is what the tribe feels that is sacred, and is matter for ritual." In writing of missions among the stalwart German tribes, Dr. Hauck [3] has said that " the old methods were bound to fail among peoples in whom the sense of individuality was very slightly developed. . . . The acceptance of Christianity by a decree of the people may be almost said to have been the typical way in which Germans became Christians." And it is interesting to notice in II Corinthians (11 [20]) how

[1] *Hist. Comm.*, p. 443.
[2] *Ancient Art and Ritual*, pp. 36–7.
[3] Quoted by Warneck, *Living Forces*, p. 137.

even a Greek city population allowed itself to be browbeaten by these emissaries: "Ye take it patiently when a man makes slaves of you, when he eats up your substance, when he exalts himself, when he even smites you on the face." The fact is that, all the world over, there are hosts of people ready to submit to an authority, if only it is asserted with sufficient confidence, and it is little wonder that the Galatians should have succumbed. Their misleader was able to appeal both to higher and to lower motives. He told them (and this was a serious argument) that until they were incorporated into Israel in the one lawful way, they would still be outsiders, with no ascertained right to the promises and the privileges of God's people; and, on the lower side, he suggested that by taking this step, they would also escape from boycott, and from the risk of more active persecution (6 [12]). But what was most effective was the persistent disparagement of Paul, as not an apostle and as a man without consistency of mind. This is referred to throughout the Epistle, and some of the most biting phrases used against him seem to be actually quoted [1] by Paul. He is your "enemy"

[1] Wendland (*Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, p. 281) says: "The difficulties of interpretation depend on this that the Epistle assumes the Judaistic attacks made upon Paul as known, whilst we, in part, can only guess at them, and reconstruct them by way of hypothesis." So W. Lock, *Expositor*, July, 1897. A free use of inverted commas would be a help to the reader, only there might be some difficulty in distributing them. Ramsay cautiously marks the phrases (1 [10]), "persuade men," "seek to please men," and (4 [16]) "enemy," as quotations. More doubtfully, he treats "did not wrong me" (4 [12]) in the same way.

(4 [16]), it was alleged, keeping you back from a privilege which might be yours. And who is he? A man who trims and suits his message to his circumstances, "seeking to please men" (1 [10]). He is willing to comply with the authorities in Jerusalem when that is convenient; the other day he circumcised a half-bred Jewish lad at Derbe, and sometimes he actually "preaches circumcision" (5 [11]; I Cor. 7 [18]; Acts 16 [3]), whilst at other times he talks against it (Acts 21 [21]). So why concern yourselves with what he says? There are Apostles whose voice we all regard; and if you fall back on Jerusalem for authority, you will find a Church which has not broken with the Temple, a new Israel, purified and enriched by Christ, to which you may come, and have all the promises secured to you. "Thus," says Paul indignantly, "they would like to shut you out of the Church, in order that you might make suit to them to gain admission on their terms" (4 [17]). It is not surprising that an uninstructed and emotional people should have been bewildered by such a campaign of insinuation. The way of ritual is always the easier way in religion, as it gives men something definite to do; and the peculiar traditions of their life had given them a bent in that direction

With less of judgment Moffatt (*N.T. Introd.*, p. 86) offers "those of repute" (2 [6]), "we are Abraham's seed" (3 [16]), and "Jerusalem which is our mother" (4 [26]), as phrases quoted from the Judaizers. The last is certainly a mistake (see p. 299). He also rightly gives "sinners of the Gentiles" (2 [15]); and one should probably add "nations" (3 [8, 14]) as denoting the whole body of the human race referred to in the promise given to Abraham.

(4 [8-9]). So Paul had no harsh words for them ; but of the clique of disturbers and of their leader he spoke with concentrated fierceness in a phrase (5 [12]) [1] which shocks our modern sense : " since the knife of circumcision plays so large a part in their religion, I wish they would strike it deeper, and like the priests of Cybele in your temples, mutilate themselves once for all."

There are intricate questions bearing on the situation which would have to be dealt with if we were concerned with the detail of chronology ; and there is one enormous question which, in recent years, has spread itself over the whole discussion of the Epistle. It concerns the geographical situation of the Churches addressed, and, incidentally also, the period in Paul's career at which these came into existence. They have been sought for in towns in the region of Pessinus on the western fringe of the old kingdom of Galatia in the north,[2] and in Antioch, Iconium, and the rest within the Roman province of Galatia, in the south. In the one case, they must have been a half-accidental result of his second missionary tour (Acts 16 [6]), whilst, in the other case, they were the main achievement of the first. A decision on

[1] So, in effect, Lightfoot, who notes that Pessinus, in North Galatia, was the home of Cybele's worship, and that, as mutilation was " a recognized form of self-devotion, it could not possibly be shunned in conversation." Ramsay (p. 438) thinks the phrase so interpreted would be " a pure insult, as irrational as it is disgusting," so he holds to the rendering in A.V.—" cut off," i.e. from the Church as useless members.

[2] Deissmann, without giving a reason, holds that Ancyra was visited (*Paulus*, p. 29).

this point would affect one's view of the order of events, and, in a measure, one's conception of the policy [1] which Paul followed in his Gentile mission; but the evidence is so evenly balanced as to require a verdict of *Non Liquet*,[2] and the question, however inviting it may be, does not affect any of the central interests of the Epistle. When Ramsay and Moffatt, for example, these doughty champions of opposing views, have presented each his separate case, and exposed the weakness of each other's arguments, the human situation which they go on to describe (whether it be found in Antioch or in Pessinus), and

[1] This is not a matter on which it is safe to dogmatize. Certainly it may be allowed that Paul habitually "hurried to the great centres of civilization and education" (Ramsay, *Church and Roman Empire*, p. 94), but we should not forget that he promises a visit to Rome only on his way to Spain (Rom. 15 [28]). His one declared policy was that of "not building on other men's foundations" (Rom. 15 [20, 21]), and of "preaching in the regions beyond" (II Cor. 10 [16]). The famous passage in II Corinthians 11 [23-27] lets us see how mere a fragment of the labour and the adventure of his life has been recorded in Acts; so that it is in no way incredible that Paul on this occasion and on many others struck out over little travelled territory. It is clearly beyond the evidence to say that what "was not Roman territory was outside of his plans" (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 417). All that we can say is that no record is preserved of any excursion beyond the limits of the Empire.

[2] Cf. Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum N.T.*, III, 1., p. 228: "The champions of both theories, with great care and learning, seek for a decision on grounds of mere probability. . . . The actual position as regards sources is unquestionably in favour of the North Galatian theory, but I know that one or two added facts (discoveries of inscriptions or the like) might entirely change the aspect."

the argument with which Paul confronts it are the same, in so far as two such differently constituted men can make them so. It is these, and not the matters in dispute, which make the interest of the letter, and it is with these I wish to deal.

Two main objections, as we have seen, had been raised against Paul's work in Galatia; the gospel he had preached was said to be defective, and he, the preacher, lacked the full authority of an apostle. But these two objections have their root in the one human instinct—of timorous adherence to what is familiar. There was an accepted type of apostleship to which Paul did not conform; if he was an apostle at all, it must be of a new kind, and it is always difficult for men to find room in their minds for a fresh species. And there was an accepted form of Christian living, a Christianity only half-emerged from Judaism, in contrast with which this Pauline Christianity had an uncomfortable air of adventure and innovation. On both points, what had tradition on its side was confronted by something that was audaciously new and uncommended; and what binds the letter together is the thought of freedom, the claim of a living thing to meet each fresh occasion as that occasion requires. "We can sum up the Epistle in a word," says Professor Godet;[1] "it is the proclamation of the new era of spiritual liberty." "I think that the most valuable thing Paul gave us," says Dr. Marcus Dods,[2] was the idea

[1] *N.T. Introduction*, p. 224 (Eng. translation).
[2] *Letters*, II, 94.

of the freedom of the sons of God. You can feel how his soul danced and exulted in that—all things are yours." Many subjects come up for consideration, but the one idea recurs. Paul speaks, for example, of sonship, but to him the supreme privilege of a son is freedom. "Thou art not a slave," he says (4 [7]), "but a son;" he rejoices in what he calls "the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom. 8 [21]). When a boy is grown up (Gal. 4 [6]) then tutors and governors are put away, and the son with his father is a free man. "I should say," says Marcus Dods again,[1] "that the key to Galatians is Paul's conception of sonship to which the Spirit of Christ raises. The son is free, and does not require to make good his claim to favour or provision. He needs no external compulsion, but lives from within." Again, in the Epistle, Paul has much to say of the Spirit of God which his converts had received, but he never suffers them to forget that "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty" (II Cor. 3 [17]). In Galatians, Luther [2] discerns nothing but "the doctrine of faith, grace, forgiveness of sins, or Christian righteousness"; and throughout that amazing Commentary, which Bunyan [3] found to be "before all the books that ever I have seen, the most fit for a wounded

[1] *Letters*, II, 210. [2] *Galatians, Introduction*, p. xciii.

[3] *Grace Abounding*. There is a curious difference between John and Charles Wesley in their judgments of Luther on Galatians. Charles found it "nobly full of faith," whilst John complains that "the author makes nothing out, clears up not one considerable difficulty; that he is quite shallow in his remarks on many passages, and muddy and confused almost in all."

conscience," there resounds the one note of forgiveness without conditions for all who go to Christ for it. But in Paul's mind and feeling, the thought of liberty resurges even here. To be justified is to be "made free from sin" (Rom. 6 [18, 22]); and more arrestingly he declares that "he who has died has got his discharge from sin" (Rom. 6 [7]). For freedom, in Paul's conception of it, is a various and a wealthy thing.

This large conception of freedom was probably a part of Paul's debt to the Greek world. Where self-development and self-realization were prized no greater wrong could be imagined than that a man should be kept from being himself and at his best. It mattered little at what point he first found himself restricted, for his demand of liberty covered all. In a tract of singular interest, Dr. Johannes Weiss [1] has exhibited the diversity of meaning in the Stoics' use of the word, and he has elaborated the parallels and the contrasts in Paul's thought and theirs. Primarily, to them it was an intellectual thing; a wise man, they said, is free, because the delusions and misconceptions of his fellows have lost their hold upon him. But sometimes it was wholly moral, for no man can be free who is the slave of his passions, or who is entangled by the cares, or even by the affections of this world. "He only is free who takes none but God as guide," says Philo. "Good men, even though they be servants, are free; and bad men, though they be free, are slaves to many

[1] *Die Christliche Freiheit nach der Verkündigung des Apostels Paulus*; the classical quotations which follow are from Weiss.

passions," says Bion. "What is freedom?" asks Cicero. "It is the power of living as one wishes. And who is it that lives as he wills, except the man who follows righteousness, who finds pleasure in his duty, who obeys the laws not from fear but because he reckons that the mark of health?" "Free am I," says Epictetus, "and a friend of God, and I serve Him with a willing mind." This richly conceived idea was not held in any fragmentary fashion, with political freedom separated off from moral, or from intellectual, as it often is with us. What Weiss[1] says of Paul's conception of liberty, that "there is something iridescent in it," is true of the Greek idea throughout; and sometimes one colour comes out and sometimes another. A very fine example of this underlying sense of unity appears in Dante,[2] when, at the foot of the Mount of Cleansing, Virgil presents him to Cato with the words, "He comes seeking freedom (i.e. from sin) which is so dear as none knows better than he who gave up life for it. Thou knowest it, Cato; since, for the sake of freedom, death was not bitter to thee in Utica." There, without a thought of incongruity, Dante passes within a single sentence from the emancipation from sin to the resistance of a brave man to tyranny. For freedom is one thing, noble

[1] *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 11.

[2] *Purgatorio*, I. 71. In the Middle Ages, the Roman Cato was confused with a Dionysius Cato of uncertain faith and date (*Shadow of Dante*, p. 109). Wicksteed (*Dante and Aquinas*, p. 134) remarks on "the systematic parallelism in the Comedy between the sacred and secular examples of virtue and vice."

and prized under many various aspects. Paul had grown up in a society in which such phrases and ideas were current, and it could not be surprising if his thought were found to bear traces of their influence. Weiss [1] oddly puts it that there was "a close relation extending inwards even to the expression (*bis in den Ausdruck hinein*)"; but I suspect that it was mainly the expression which was borrowed, and that the deeper one penetrates into Paul's thought of liberty the more profoundly and intimately Christian it is seen to be. But certainly in him, one notes, as in Dante and as in the Greeks, the large, underlying idea, which binds all the various manifestations together as of one group. "It may be said," says Sir William Ramsay,[2] "that the freedom on which Paul insists as a fundamental part of the Christian life is only freedom from Jewish ritual, not freedom generally in political, social and philosophical relations. The reply is that freedom in one direction tends to produce freedom of mind in general." Paul speaks of freedom from sin (Rom. 6 [18, 22]), when the mastery of evil passion is broken: of freedom from the law (Gal. 4 [5]), when a man ceases unintelligently to do what he is told, merely because he is told: of freedom from an uninstructed public opinion (I Cor. 4 [4], 9 [1], 9 [19], 10 [29]): and of freedom from the slavery of corruption (Rom. 8 [21]), through the Power which makes men young again. Throughout this Galatian Epistle there is a continual suggestion of the need of deliver-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.
[2] *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 37.

ance from the tyranny of tradition and institutions, resting in a man's right to trust his own experience and to call his soul his own. But what lies behind them all and accounts for them all is an experience at first hand of the grace of God, who took Paul out from under yokes of every sort, and made a man of him, free and fearless. The old slave nature lay dead, and "he who has died has got his discharge." That was the path by which he had travelled, and on which he had seen them starting out; and this dealing with God at first hand is taken in the letter as the basis and the supposition of all their liberties. By dealing with men one by one, God gives to each a standing of his own.

Taking as our guiding clue this idea of the liberty which God gives to His friends, I may hastily, for the sake of clearness, run over the stages of the Epistle, even though it will be necessary later to travel by the same road. The stages, essentially, are three;[1] the first is occupied with the vindication of an apostleship which, confessedly, was of a new type; the second with the conditions of their standing as Christians, apart from any Jewish tradition; and the third with the possibility for a man of having a conscience of his own.

I. Paul's reply to those who challenged his apostleship is quite Napoleonic in its audacity. He defends

[1] Dr. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 65) finds "the main breaks at the end of the second and the fourth chapters." At the latter, there is only such a break as a man makes with a hatchet; the thought runs on, if you let it alone, and the new subject is only taken up at 5 [13].

himself only by attacking; for not only does he maintain his own apostleship as good, he leaves no room for any of a different kind. What his ill-wishers laid hold of in proof of the weakness of his position, he thrusts forward in proof that no other position is maintainable. Vaguely and tentatively, a conception had been taking shape of what an apostle ought to be,—one of the Eleven, or some man acknowledged by the Church as their substitute. Some of these latter, like Barnabas, were worthy of all honour, but the authority which they exercised was, in all cases, secondary and derivative, for their task was to carry on the work and witness of the Eleven. If this order had been perpetuated (and it did last until the end of the century), there would have been in Christendom, a very feeble sort of apostolical succession, in which each man in turn would find a place, not in virtue of any direct call or inspiration, but merely as the successor of some one else. Dr. Bliss [1] describes how a Syrian dervish, in proof of his authority to ordain or "give the way," will draw from his bosom a roll several feet long. "In reading this diploma, he unwound an apparently endless chain of names; the first link was his own name; the next the name of his ordaining sheikh, from whom he had 'received the way'; and so, on and on, through names well known in Moslem history, till he paused for breath at the name of the founder of the order who died in 1335. Then the line receded back through the Middle and Dark Ages with a list of names unknown to me, from whose

[1] *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, p. 244.

obscurity flashed that of the great imam, Ja'afar-es-Sádiq, till at last I was thrilled to hear the words 'who received it from Hosein, who received it from Ali, who received it from Mohammed.' The spiritual succession had now reached its source." Of another, "Sheikh Mohammed, a lowly artisan of Jerusalem," he relates [1] that he also "had his spiritual pedigree, but he made little of it. 'The main matter,' he said very simply when I referred to the diploma, 'is that the thoughts and the heart should be pure.'" This may seem the nobler descent, but the statement of it for worldly ears has none of the pomp of the rolling catalogue of names; and in all lands, it is easier for the multitude to understand and to submit to an authority which, like a king's, is not personal but derived. But Paul says bluntly, I have none of that. "My apostolate has not its source in the community; it has not even its procuring cause in the choice or the furtherance of any single man" (*Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου* —Gal. 1 [1]); God chose me for this work before I was born, and in His own time He revealed His Son within me, and sent me to preach of Him to others. So, if to make his title good, a man requires to trace it back from one human authority of a regular sort to another, then my title is worthless. On the mere dignity of his office, Paul never laid much stress. He called himself (I Cor. 15 [9]) "the least of the apostles, not worthy to be called an apostle." Borrowing a name of abuse which the Jews had invented for him, he refers to himself as

[1] P. 261; cf. p. 252.

"the abortion" [1] — a shapeless thing cast forth from the womb of Judaism before it had come to life (I Cor. 15 [8]). He admits that to many people he never would seem like an apostle at all (I Cor. 9 [2]). That was when his own interest and standing were in question; but if the question were of Christ's interest, of His right to lay His hand on whom He will, and confer the insignia of authority in the Church, then Paul must be fearless in maintaining his position. When Prussian presbyters proposed to join in consecrating a new Bishop of Jerusalem, Liddon scornfully said: "It is much as if a hen owl were to undertake to lay an eagle's egg." In this rational world of ours things can produce only on their own level; and Paul would joyfully have turned Liddon's phrase against visible authority, of whatever rank, which claimed the exclusive right to make a man an apostle. It is Christ who must do that, apart from any human intervention, and He did it for me.

Frankly he exposes his own defects so far as men's notions were concerned. As soon as I was baptized, I fell to work in Arabia [2] (1 [17]), and only after three

[1] *τῷ ἐκτρώματι*: Joh. Weiss (*1 Korintherbrief*, p. 352), "If Paul had coined the phrase for himself, he would scarcely have used the definite article; that shows that he is catching up a word of abuse hurled at him, and using it for his own purpose." Weiss attributes its origin to the Judaizing party in the Church, which fiercely denied that Paul's apostleship, however hopeful its beginning, ever came to life. Schmiedel, with much greater probability, attributes it to the Jews.

[2] So Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 321. But for the notion that Arabia is a land of deserts, the sequence of vv. 16–17

years did I even visit Jerusalem, where I spent a few days with Peter, informal and uncommitting (1 [18]). Then for eleven years I was away again, working in my own fashion, planting churches and watching them grow by teachings which my own heart suggested. After that came the famine,[1]

would have suggested that it was to preach rather than to meditate that Paul went; and it must be remembered that Justin says that "Damascus itself was and is a part of the Arabian territory." As in harmony with the common view, one might refer to Mohammed's dictum, "Verily, there hath no prophet been raised up, who performed not the work of a shepherd." It was in his time of solitary brooding that his conviction became absolute that God Himself had spoken, cf. Qoran LXIX. It is precarious, however, to reason from Mohammed to Paul. John, in order to receive a vision, must go to Patmos, but Paul saw as clearly in the crowded streets of a town as in any solitude.

[1] In spite of great authorities on the other side, I am convinced that the interview in Gal. 2 [1-10] is not to be identified with the so-called Council in Acts 15, but with Acts 11 [30]. A graver question is whether Paul was present at that Council at all. Its decisions certainly never affected his teaching, and they can only with an effort be reconciled with his saying that the Apostles "added nothing" to him. To insist upon a ritual precept like abstaining from blood as "necessary" (15 [28]) is surely to "add" more than Paul's doctrine could admit. (I think it must be held that Lake (*op. cit.*, p. 48 *seq.*) has failed to prove that what is prohibited in Acts 15 [29] is impurity, idolatry and murder. All New Testament usage is against rendering *εἰδωλόθυτον* as = idolatry; it is extremely doubtful if *αἵματος ἀπέχεσθαι* could bear the sense of "abstain from murder": so Wendland—*Literatur formen*, p. 254—and Blass.) Even Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, p. 298), who is Luke's most eager advocate, admits his "inattention to precise statements of the lapse of time." Paul, e.g., was long enough in Thessalonica not only to see men converted but to know their "patience of hope" (I Thess. 1 [3]);

when I was sent with Barnabas to carry help to Jerusalem ; and there, in private, I told the leaders what my message had been, and they added nothing to me. Intrusive people,[1] who had been thrust upon us at the interview, would have liked to drive me past my purpose ; but I declined even to have Titus circumcised, and the leaders did not insist. The Rabbinical schools had so long practised the method of authority, that their students were concerned not only with the question, Is this true ? but with the very different question, Who said this ? or What is your authority for repeating it ? And it was natural that, within the Church at Jerusalem, What Peter or John or James had said should be

he worked night and day at his trade so as to burden nobody (I Thess. 2 [9]), yet the kindly Philippians "once and again" found occasion to send money for his support (Phil. 4 [15, 16]) ; and these things can scarcely be fitted into the three weeks which Luke allows (Acts 17 [2]). This looseness is exaggerated when he speaks of Jerusalem, about which his information was evidently scanty ; e.g. compare the story of Pentecost with Paul's account of the tongues in I Cor. 14, or Acts 9 [26-7] with Gal. 1 [18-9]. The balance of probability seems to be in favour of the view that the "Decrees" were passed in Paul's absence, and were only communicated to him on his return from his third missionary tour (Acts 21 [25]).

[1] *διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους*—Lietzmann refers this "not to any scene in Jerusalem but to the general situation in the Pauline communities," but this hardly accounts for Paul's phrase—"to spy out our liberties." Ramsay (*Histor. Comm.*, p. 299) refers it to men coming to visit as pretended friends, and using the knowledge thus acquired to injure Paul. But I think it is clearly best to read it as above, which accounts for the cavalier tone of v. 6, in which it is scarcely possible to miss a note of defiance.

quoted as determining. But Paul declares, "I did not receive my message of men, nor was I taught it; it came through a revelation given by Jesus Christ" (1 [12]). *He* told me. And, in support of this daring assertion, he adds a story which has little consolation for any blind believer in the authority which mere position confers. Peter came down to us at Antioch, he says, and lived as friend with friends, frankly a member of the brotherhood of Jesus. But when visitors came from Jerusalem, he remembered that he was more than this, that he was a dignitary [1] of whom something was expected; so he drew back and denied the fellowship. Paul is perfectly clear that, in essential opinion, Peter and he were at one [2] (2 [15, 16]), but the narrative is the most incisive reply to his opponents. You would have me go for my authority to a man who can blunder like that, when it may be taken from the Master Himself! "I said the Christian must judge for himself," said Luther at Worms, "as he must live and die for him-

[1] We are told that the Pope as an individual may err, but that speaking as Pope, *ex cathedra*, he is infallible. It is interesting to notice that Peter acting as a private Christian was right, and that he went wrong only when he tried to behave as an Apostle.

[2] It is difficult to say how much of the section 2 [14-21] was actually spoken; Luther ends Paul's speech at v. 16, Moffatt (*N.T. Introd.*, p. 87) at v. 17; Ramsay (p. 305) cannot decide. At least vv. 19–20 must be soliloquy. The Judaizing party never forgave Paul for this outburst in which he says (2 [11]) that Peter "stood condemned." In the *Clem. Homilies* XVII, 19, Peter says to Simon Magus, who is intentionally confused with Paul, "If thou callest me condemned, thou accusest God who revealed the Christ to me."

self; and the Pope is not umpire in spiritual things." In fighting his own battle, Paul was fighting our battle too, keeping open for all men the way of intercourse with Jesus Christ.

II. The second point which was pressed upon these new-made Gentile Christians was that, if they were to inherit the blessing, they must become Israelites. In the lives of the first believers there had been a certain blending of Jewish and Christian elements, which was naturally accepted as the normal condition. Paul himself, like Luther, was utterly disdainful of forms, in regard to which he felt that, if their retention could strengthen or unite the Church, it was foolish to clamour for their abolition. "Although such ceremonials do not promote holiness," says Luther,[1] "they may arrest the attention of coarser natures." "Such things, if not abused, neither add to nor take from the Gospel, but they must never be regarded as necessary, nor made a matter of conscience." [2] In the same large spirit of tolerance, Paul was willing that, after their baptism, Jews should continue to live as Jews (I Cor. 7 [18]); and when he saw that prejudice was bitter against Timothy as a half-caste and dissident Jew, he bowed to the storm and had him circumcised. But the more general claim that every Christian convert must pass that way could not be so readily allowed, for it implied that man's beginning is as indispensable as God's beginning, the symbol as important as the grace for which it stood. God had already spoken

[1] *Letters* (Currie's translation), p. 259.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

in their hearts, flooding them with sunshine; He had given them the Spirit, and marvels had been wrought among them. What could be asked for more? Old-fashioned people to whom every step of the way by which they had come to Christ was equally significant and necessary, might say,—You must, like us, be circumcised, or you will not have the blessing quite secure; but Paul looked to a wider range of experience. Four hundred and thirty years before the Law was heard of Abraham had *believed God*, and that was enough; that was an experience complete in itself, with all the radiance of the Divine blessing lying upon it. "Paul and his Pharisaic opponents alike in some sense believed in Christ," says Dr. Denney;[1] "the question was whether for *perfect* Christianity anything else was required. The Pharisaic Christians said, Yes: the Gentile faith in Christ was very well as a beginning. But if these foreign believers were to be completely Christian, and to inherit the blessings of the Messianic kingdom on the same footing with them, their faith in Christ must be supplemented by circumcision and the keeping of the Mosaic Law. Paul said, No: Christ is the whole of Christianity, Christ crucified and risen. . . . In the religion of Paul, Christ filled an absolute and unshared place." So there he stood on guard. He did not dispute the Christian standing of those who held to older forms, but he was resolute in maintaining the possibility of living with Christ apart from these, and he was clear that to treat these as indispensable was "nothing else than to pervert the

[1] *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 27.

Gospel of Christ" (1 6, 7). John Howe, the Puritan, in his unanswerable way, has declared [1] that "the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions and divisions of the Christian world hath been by adding other conditions of Church communion than Christ hath done"; and he says again: [2] "A man may continue of the judgment that such additions are, in the matter of them, lawful, yet the making them additional terms of Church communion must be highly sinful, as being the introduction of a new Christianity—Christian communion being of Christians as such." Paul uses language less vehement than this; he is content to speak [3] of "another Gospel which is different from mine only in so far as there are people who would trouble you and pervert

[1] R. F. Horton's *Life of John Howe*, p. 141.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

[3] The force of the distinction in 1 6, 7 between ἕτερον and ἄλλο has been much debated. Ramsay (p. 262) understands ἕτερον as meaning another of the same kind, and ἄλλο as one of a different kind, whilst Lightfoot, Meyer, J. H. Moulton reverse the relation; and in favour of both views passages may be produced. Ramsay asserts that "it is not possible within the limits of the Greek language to admit the translation" which marks the contrast in Lightfoot's way, for professors like to speak with authority. But the usage of the N.T. is extremely uncertain, and scribes in copying seem readily to have substituted one word for the other. In Luke 7 19, 20, Codex B. supplies ἕτερον for ἄλλον. The parable of the sower taken from the same source by Mark (4 5-8) and Luke (8 6-8), has ἄλλο in Mark and ἕτερον in Luke. Lietzmann is possibly right in saying that "the change of word carries no change of meaning, just as in II Cor. 11 4." But I prefer, with Meyer and others, to alter the punctuation and read the sentence as above.

the Gospel of Christ." In spite of the ritual intrusion, he recognized the elements of Gospel in what they believed, and sought to have these liberated from what was mixed up with them. These forms, he says, are not of the essence of our faith; it is possible to come to God apart from them, and surely it is better so.

But when this is said, a question arises for Paul. If apart from the Law, Abraham and his true children have enjoyed the blessing, why should the Law have come in at all? Has it not, throughout its history, served only as a by-path, up which men have wandered to find it leading nowhere? This is the bewildering suggestion which troubles Paul through the tangled section—3^{15}–4^{7}. If he had possessed the arid virtue of logical consistency, he would have taken Marcion's way and pronounced the Law superfluous; but his nature was too spacious to be merely consistent. He was persuaded that essentially and from the beginning, there had been one dispensation only—a dispensation, on God's part, of grace, and on man's part, of faith; and yet with a kind of hereditary piety he clung to the Law, unwilling to admit that it had always been without a function. At least, he says, if it did nothing else, it so fretted men's impatience as to put them in a mood for welcoming a Deliverer, and when Jesus came He found a people waiting for Him. That is Paul's apology for the interlude of law; but when the Christ is here, how strange a policy it would be to forbid men to go straight to Him, the Healer, and to compel them to travel round by all the ancient indirectnesses!

The day of law's service now is over, and to maintain it in authority is to turn what was God's instrument into an enemy of human life. It is an old saying that "Frederick the Great lost the battle of Jena," and the meaning is plain and pertinent. The system which he had established, blindly adhered to and continued into a different age when other needs were pressing, brought Prussia to ruin; and in that sober historical sense, Paul saw the Law condemned.

III. The last section of the Epistle calls for no elucidation. From his great teacher Jeremiah [1] Paul had learned that the essential matter in a good life is the circumcision of the heart, that is to say, a heart possessed by God and marked as His own. The mass of people, then as now, wished to have their duty set down before them in some precise and manageable form, and thus a blight of sameness was infecting the community, an inability to do or even to conceive of unusual things, such as the Master often requires. And for this also Paul finds a remedy in His principle of individuality; let the Spirit of Jesus dwell in you, and you will not need to ask of men for guidance. "If ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not subject to precept" (Gal. 5 [18]). Christ living in you, controlling heart and instinct, will enable you to see the duty which He appoints and to fulfil it.

Thus wherever Paul turned, the same lesson

[1] Jer. 4 [4]: cf. the great promise of the law in the heart, 31 [31-34]. W. E. Addis (*Hebrew Religion*, p. 202) says: "Spiritual circumcision is mentioned in Deut. 10 [16], 30 [6]; but these passages are additions to the code, and the idea probably originated with Jeremiah."

seemed thrust upon him. It is the life at first hand, the life in which a man for himself touches God, that first gives him energy to burst his bonds, and then enables him to walk as a free man. The Emperor Vespasian is reported to have said, "I have passed seventy years upon the earth, and I have *lived* seven of them"—and the New Testament gives the distinction meaning. Rousseau,[1] in the same way, says of one sunny chapter in his tormented story: "Apart from this brief but precious period, I might have remained uncertain about myself for all the rest of my life, facile and unresisting. I have been agitated and beaten about by the passions of others . . . so that I should find it hard to unravel what in my conduct is my own. . . . But during these few years, I did what I wished to do, I was what I wished to be . . . I was entirely free and better than free, for, subjected by my affections alone, I did only what I wished to do." That, in substance, is the witness of the Apostle, which animates his Letter and binds its parts together. For so long a period, Paul had had a fashion of conduct thrust upon him by his neighbours and superiors,—ways of thinking, behaving, believing, which left him scant opportunity of revealing his individuality. Everything was at second hand. But that, by the grace of God to him, had been changed, and he now knew the joy of thinking thoughts, and giving himself up to sentiments and energies which were his own; his life ran out untrammelled, with nothing of mere imitation about it. This freedom from men brought others with it, for

[1] *Les Rêveries d'un Promeneur Solitaire—Dixième Promenade.*

when a man is right he is much more right than he thinks ; he had freedom in God's presence also, for fear had gone, and love and sonship had taken its place. God no longer talked to him as a master, issuing bare commands, but as a friend. And there was freedom from sin ; for though he was not yet done with it, the fetters seemed broken, and, running in the way of God's commandments, he was leaving the life of servitude behind. Thus, the more he dwelt upon his new conditions, the more the religion of the crowd seemed condemned, whilst *the faith of the unveiled face*, the individual, mystical religion seemed to be justified. " He exalts the inner light into an absolute criterion of right and wrong, that no corner of the moral life may remain in bondage to Pharisaism." [1]

" St. Paul's is a heroic doctrine," says Professor Bruce,[2] " and it needs spiritual heroes to appreciate it and to do it justice " ; so, since heroes are few, the doctrine has been often in the shadow. Sir William Ramsay [3] is conceiving of the point at issue far too narrowly when he asserts that " the history of Christianity in Asia Minor during the immediately following period shows that the victory was won once and for ever. The question never again emerges." No doubt, in this crude, Galatian form, the question does not emerge, but that is because, in Ramsay's own phrase, " the Judaistic tendency had taken another and more subtle direction " ; and one does

[1] Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 62.
[2] *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 60.
[3] *Galatians*, p. 476.

not talk of victory, when the mischief has entrenched itself more firmly out of sight. "Mankind is as lazy as it dares to be," says Emerson; and a doctrine which casts on every man the burden of seeing God for himself, and of shaping his life under God for himself will always be unpalatable. "Pope and Pelagius," as Luther says, "are born in each man's belly," and the Christian literature [1] of the second century shows that Paul was scarcely understood, and legalism settled down upon the Church. "In the century succeeding Paul," says one of our most brilliant scholars,[2] "the Gospel was construed as a *nova lex* similar in its demand and character to the Law of Moses; and the whole system, against which

[1] Gardner, *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, p. 229: "In the Christian teaching of the second century we find little appreciation of the Pauline teaching. His letters were above the heads of ordinary Christians; and though some of his views appealed to the many, his more complete appreciation was delayed until the leaders of the Church began to come from a higher social station, and from a class more given to advanced religious thought." The statement of the first sentence is certainly true; but what follows is governed by the very Oxonian notion that no one but an educated person can understand Paul. Six martyrs at Scilli in the year 180 had in their box "the books we use and in addition the letters of that holy man Paul"; and these, says Harnack, were not scholars, but "certainly mere plebeians." Sabatier (*The Apostle Paul*, p. ix) tells of an eminent professor of history at the Sorbonne who first learned the meaning of Paul's theology from a Christian shoemaker at Lyons. "The moral crisis of conversion is the first and best initiation into the truths of Paulinism," says Sabatier. On this see Deissmann's *Paulus*, p. 55.

[2] Ernest F. Scott, *Apologetic of the N.T.*, p. 109.

Paul made his protest, was established again in the Catholic Church. Luther rediscovered the central Pauline idea ; but in Protestantism also the religion of the letter, of submission to some outward yoke of bondage, has never ceased to maintain itself over against the religion of the Spirit. The Judaism, which was the ultimate object of Paul's attack, had its ground in certain permanent tendencies of human nature ; and, for this reason if for no other, the Epistles are of lasting significance and value. A time will never be in which it will not be necessary to fight Paul's battle over again, and the Christian apologist must always go back to Paul for his truest guidance and inspiration." The victory, certainly, was not " won once and for all," nor will it ever, under our present conditions, be complete ; but it is continually being won in individual lives, and for this we should give thanks to God.

CHAPTER II

THE POWER OF A PERSONALITY

"Confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse."—TERTULLIAN.

IT is clearly needful to consider the nature of the powers which enabled Paul to break away from this thraldom of society and tradition, and to live, as Christ intended, a life which was his own. These powers, essentially, were two,—a vigour and independence of character, and a unique experience.

Of the first, explicitly, he says nothing. In the mysterious process of making up his mind a man is always inclined to take *himself* for granted, and to put forward as his reason for any decision considerations which can more easily be stated. But if we watch the process in ourselves or in our neighbours, we shall observe how often it is something in a man, some bias of nature, some courage or energy of mind or the opposite, or some inclination which long ago was fixed by his environment, which determines whether he will take this path or that. "How do we ever make up our mind about anything?" asks Mr. Augustine Birrell.[1] "We reject a host of surrounding matters, not because we deliberately con-

[1] *Miscellanies*, p. 42.

sider them irrelevant, but because, for one reason or another, they are alien both to our likes and dislikes, they leave us unmoved; whilst other men, differently constituted, brought up in other surroundings—in another library, for example—may find among the considerations we disregard the motive power of their resolutions. And as we reject what does not move us, so we concentrate on what does, and thus is the battlefield selected . . . and we stand committed to one side or the other." Some men, by nature, are thinkers for themselves, and, without waiting for the example or the authority of others, they strike out on a way which is their own; but the mass of people, even in matters of faith, like to follow some leader. They do not, so to speak, believe in truth; they believe in a multitude;[1] they vote with the majority. And even of those who begin by being independent, it is only a fraction who can hold that rule to the end; age brings caution, and many who seemed to be "born originals die at last as copies."[2] Taine[3] complains that man has "l'intelligence moutonnière"; "in religious matters not three in a hundred have leisure or intellect enough to form an opinion of their own; and of these three two and a half grow tired, and, after feeling about for a track of their own, they turn back to the high road." But however few they be, the company of the resolute are never without interest for humanity.

[1] The schoolboy rendering of "Securus judicat orbis terrarum" is "It is always safe to shout with the crowd."

[2] Vinet, *Philosophie Morale*, p. 91.

[3] *Voyage en Italie*, I. 282.

Others may be as nimble as they, or as richly stored in mind, and yet through self-distrust or native sluggishness [1] they are hampered in their decisions. And even before they come to the point of a decision, their native timidity, like the sensitive antennæ of insects, has been warning them of obstructions in front.[2] They are shy of recognizing the truth, not from ignorance or incapacity, but because, instinctively, they shrink from what that truth might involve. In all fields of activity, we have gratefully to acknowledge the achievements of a resolute individuality.[3] Nothing brightens a prim and featureless society like the advent of some one who can be called "a character." An old aunt of Emerson's is described [4] as "full of angularities, a perpetual offender against minor social proprieties, orthodox by intellectual conviction, but heterodox by native temperament, 'no whistle,' as her nephew said, 'that

[1] Horace Walpole (24 Jan. 1740) marks a national distinction in this matter. "The French and the Italians have great faults and great follies, but these are so national that they cease to be striking. In England tempers vary so excessively that almost every one's faults are peculiar to himself. I take this diversity to proceed partly from our climate, partly from our government; the first is changeable and makes us queer; the latter permits our queernesses to operate as they please."

[2] Heine (*Memoiren*) says of his father: "With his mental antennæ (mit seinen geistigen Fühlhörnern) he had a feeling in advance of what the clever could only slowly grasp through a process of reflection. He thought less with his head than with his heart."

[3] Joh. Weiss, *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 5: "They lack the courage needed for a life in liberty."

[4] Rich. Garnett's *Life of Emerson*, p. 26.

every mouth could blow on, but a pibroch from which only a native Highlander could draw music.'" When that temper is carried out into wider fields, the results are seen in performances of real mark. Emerson [1] calls Thoreau "a born protestant. . . . He interrogated every custom, and wished to settle all his practice on an ideal foundation. . . . If he slighted and defied the opinions of others, it was only that he was more intent to reconcile his practice with his own belief"; and out of a life so managed there came those "accusing silences, those searching and irresistible speeches, battering down all defences," which his companions could never forget. When *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly* had bludgeoned Keats for his "Endymion," and his friends had joined in warning him of its defects, his vigorous manhood found its voice.[2] "Had I been nervous about its being a perfect piece, and with that view had asked advice and trembled over every page, it would not have been written, for it is not in my nature to fumble. I *will* write independently. I have written independently and without judgment. I may write independently and with judgment hereafter. The genius of poetry must work out its own salvation in a man. . . . That which is creative must create itself." It was this bold individuality which, in Froude's [3]

[1] V. 262.

[2] *Keats' Letters*, p. 167.

[3] *Short Studies: Oxford and the Counter Reformation*, IV. 280. In the same paper Froude says of his brother Hurrell: "He had the contempt of an intellectual aristocrat for private judgment and the rights of a man. . . . But he belonged himself

view, determined the course which Newman followed at the first: "He could not, being what he was, acquiesce in the established religion because it was there, because the country had accepted it, and because good, general reasons could be given for assuming it to be right." When Henry VIII of England took the opposite course, resolving that he was as competent as any Pope to decide as to the justice of his own cause, he was indebted not to superior intellect, nor to any depth of spiritual insight, but to a blunt sturdiness of nature, which enabled him unflinchingly to look at facts. Before Luther broke with Rome, there were, throughout Germany, thousands of pious folk, in whose thinking and feeling his doctrine lay implicit; but the unfolding of it and the confronting of its results called for a degree of resolute courage of which they were incapable; and there the Reformer had his chance. "I guess I behave no prouder than a builder's square," [1] says

to the class whose business was to order rather than to obey. If his own bishop had interfered with him, his theory of episcopal authority would have been found inapplicable in that particular instance."

[1] This right of self-assertion must be limited in various directions. Kant, e.g., says: "One can learn Latin in Cicero, and it would be ridiculous to reject his authority; but there is no classical authority in philosophy. To Plato or to Leibnitz it is allowable to oppose the reason which each man discovers in himself" (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*). It also needs to be steadied the sense of a great cause or a true inspiration, or it may erate into mere wilfulness. Mr. Chesterton (*Dickens*, p. 249) types of the Scottish and the English democracies two Mr. Keir Hardie wishes to hold up his head as man, ishes to follow his nose as Crooks."

Walt Whitman, who made himself a test of what he found, and who rejected all that hurt his heart. "To be oneself," says Taine,[1] "without reserve and as far as that may carry him, is there any other precept in art and in life than this?" "In order to become Christians," says Vinet,[2] "it is first of all needful that we be ourselves. In making Christians, God wishes first to discover men." And Dr. Rainy[3] shows how this vigour of manhood affects both thought and conduct: "A high Christian enthusiasm has usually been connected with strong and decided affirmation of doctrine, and with a disposition to speak it out ever more fully. That temper has been venturesome to speak even as it has been venturesome to do, as little fearing to declare God's word in human speech as to embody His will in human acts." It is this masculine individuality which gives character and energy to the whole of Paul's thinking.

When we talk of his temperament we are at a singular advantage, for there is no man in ancient history, with the possible exception of Cicero, who can be known to the same extent. Some men's books are outworks, behind which they stubbornly withdraw themselves, but this man is vehemently present in all his writings, his individuality never deserts his words. He thrusts himself forward at every turn, and his own experiences are the burden of the message. He did not begin to write until he had attained to that fullness and ripeness of intellect

[1] *Voyage en Italie*, II. 10.
[2] *Philos. Morale*, p. 100.
[3] *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 285.

which makes production easy and rapid. He knew his own mind; and though each letter is coloured by its occasion, yet the thinking is not of the nature of improvisation. "The Epistle to the Galatians," says Dr. Wendland,[1] "contains trains of thought which were not started by the actual situation. The explanations of the relation of faith and law, the allegorical proof of freedom from the Law, and the historical statement of his own relation to the Mother Church were themes which Paul had often gone over in thought. They were adapted to the immediate object, but they had been shaped before, not for this particular Letter but for general purposes of doctrine and instruction." Within two or three years, the four chief Letters were produced, and the whole collection must have appeared within ten years,[2] the work of a man no longer young,

[1] *Die Urchrist. Literaturformen*, p. 283. When this is kept in view little force will be felt in the minute argument (of Lightfoot, e.g.) that Galatians and Romans must have come close together in Paul's life of authorship. His hold upon his own ideas was not so slack as that would imply. Sir Walter Raleigh (Johnson, p. 27) speaks derisively of the author who has "no ownership in his facts. They have flitted through his mind in a calm five minutes' passage from the note-book to the immortality of the printed page. But no man can make much impression on a reader with facts which he has not thought it worth his own while to remember."

[2] Such concentration finds many parallels in literature. Edmund Gosse notes about Jeremy Taylor (*Eng. Men of Letters*—Taylor, p. 218) that all his first-rate work was published between 1650 and 1655. Matthew Arnold says of Wordsworth (*Golden Treasury* edition, p. xii): "It is no exaggeration to say that in this single decade—1798–1808—almost all his really first-rate

struggling to maintain himself by his own labour, and burdened with the incessant and distracting care of many Churches. The circumstances in which the Letters were composed accentuated their character as so many writings of mood. They were dictated in fragments of time for which he had to fight against encroaching visitors.[1] "The daily concourse," he calls it (*ἡ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν* II Cor. 11 [28]), the crowding in of petitioners of every degree, with their questions of conduct or of faith, with domestic squabbles to be pacified, bereavements to be consoled, and tales of wrong inviting sympathy. That variety of appeal is vividly brought up before us in the words with which he continues (v. 29): "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is made to stumble, and I am not on fire?" There, in a flash, we see the vehement little man, lending himself in turn, whole, to the companion of the moment, and then reverting impatient and inflamed to his letter. It is not wonderful if his thought is often turned aside, and if vices of which he had just been hearing stand out sometimes in disproportioned prominence. The sentences are frequently

work was produced." Kant's *Kritik of the Pure Reason* appeared in 1781, and on to 1790 he was issuing one instalment of his system after another (Wallace's *Kant*, p. 63). And the world has never known such a decade as that from 1600–10 in Shakespeare's life, which gave birth to "Hamlet," "Othello," "Macbeth," "Lear," "Measure for Measure," "Antony and Cleopatra," and perhaps "The Tempest," with much besides.

[1] Gardner, *Relig. Exper. of St. Paul*, p. 18: "It might not be easy to distinguish between a fresh day's work and the result of an interruption, or a sudden revulsion of feeling."

obscure ; he indulges in parentheses, which a writer more deliberate would have avoided, and sometimes he forgets what he set out to say. But what sentences they are! "They seem in many places to be written with blood rather than ink," says Dr. Percy Gardner.[1] "They bring before us all the workings of the heart of Paul, all the turns and habits of his intellect, the very secret of his humanity." "The man is so large and so strong," says Mr. Glover,[2] "so simple and true, so various in his feeling for men—'all things to all men'—such a master of language, so sympathetic and so open—he is irresistible. The quick movement of his thought, his sudden flashes of anger and of tenderness, his apostrophes, his ejaculations—one feels that pen and paper never got such a man written down before or since. Every sentence comes charged with the whole man. Half a dozen Greek words and not always the best Greek—and the Christian world for ever will sum up its deepest experience in 'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me and I unto the world!'" What Vandal[3] records of the letters of the great Napoleon might well be said of the Apostle: "One does not read him, but hears him speaking. He always seems to address, with living voice, the people for whom the letter is intended. Any one listening at the door might have fancied that the two parties were face

[1] *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, p. 4.
[2] *Conflict of Religions*, p. 155.
[3] *L'Avènement de Bonaparte* (Nelson's edition), II. 213.

to face inside." To his converts in Corinth, when they seemed like to blunder, Paul writes not as from a distance, but as actually in imagination taking his place in their assembly: "For I, present in spirit with you, though absent in body, have already, as if I were present, in the name of the Lord Jesus, judged the man who has done this wrong; you are gathered together, and I in spirit, and the might of Jesus our Lord is with us" (I Cor. 5 [3, 4]). "I wish I could be with you now," he writes to the Galatians (4 [20]), "and try new ways of speech, for I am puzzled about you." Before the Canon was complete (II Peter 3 [16]), Paul was already recognized as a difficult writer; but if we must consent sometimes to miss his full meaning, we are never left in doubt about himself. He belonged to the company of hot-blooded creatures to whom nothing can ever be moderate or dull, and Eutychus [1] deserves the immortality which Luke has given him as the one man who managed to sleep when Paul was talking. The Apostle finds his kindred not among the cool theorists or system-builders, but with the Psalmist who says (119 [136]): "Tears run from my eyes in rivers, because they keep not Thy law," and again (v. 53): "hot indignation hath taken hold upon me, because of the wicked who forsake Thy law": and, again (v. 20): "My soul breaketh for the longing that it hath unto Thy judgments always"? or with Chalmers, a man naturally choleric and impatient, who could say of himself: [2] "There are

[1] Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 3.

[2] Hanna's *Life of Chalmers*, I. 32.

two kinds of pride, that which lords it over inferiors, and that which rejoices in repressing the insolence of superiors. The first I have none of, the second I glory in"; or, on a different level, with Louis Stevenson, of whom Henley records that "to him there was nothing obvious in time or eternity; the smallest of his discoveries were all by way of being revelations, and as revelations must be thrust upon the world."

In the temperament of the Apostle, as that is disclosed both in the Acts and the Epistles, there is no quality more prominent than that of courage, "without which there can be no truth," as Sir Walter Scott says, "and without truth there can be no virtue." So utterly devoid of fear was he that he had no patience with a man like Mark (Acts 13 [13], 15 [38]), who had yielded to its persuasion; and this is made the more impressive through the existence in him of that paralysing shyness in presence of strange people, which he confesses in I Cor. 2 [3]: "I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling" (cf. II Cor. 10 [1, 10]).[1] When the mob of traders at Ephesus, maddened by the thought of their endangered interests, were gathered in the theatre far beyond the reach of reasoning, the intrepid little man wished to go in to face them; and when even the sailors had lost heart in the storm he stood forth as leader[2] (Acts 27 [20-30]). He

[1] Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 47.

[2] *Deissmann* (p. 131) quotes as a parallel the attitude of Goethe, when in peril of shipwreck off Capri (*Italienische Reise*, May, 1787). In a dead calm his ship was drifting on the rocks,

was, as Don Quixote observes, "a knight-errant in his life," led on by an eager spirit of adventure, tempted by tasks because they were hard (I Cor. 16 [9]), solicited by lands because they were remote and untouched (Rom. 15 [20, 21]; II Cor. 10 [16]). The sight of a mountain range hinted to him of the strange peoples on the farther slope; the spectacle of a seaport, with vessels putting out to sea, caught his heart away. "The whole man was apostle," as Hausrath [1] declares; but to that one qualifying addition must be made. The adventurer, with a world of romance out-spread before him, passes on to fresh perils and excitements, forgetful of the old ties of affection; but in this man the quest of adventure was accompanied by the most close and tender personal relations. He never forgot those he left behind (e.g. I Thess. 1 [2]; Gal. 4 [19]; Philem. v. 12), and however brief might be his stay in any place, he always left it richer in friends than when he came.

Alongside of this attribute of courage, and, perhaps, springing from the same root, was an almost militant sense of personal dignity. He treats men of every rank with the same noble courtesy, but he is never unmindful of what is due to himself; and

and the mob of passengers got out of hand. "For me, who from my youth had hated anarchy worse than death, it was impossible to keep silence." In an edifying way he exhorted them to pray to the Virgin that she might make suit for them with her Son, who stilled the waves at Galilee. An interesting though not very impressive narrative.

[1] *Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 201.

in his attitude towards the great there is no suggestion of that cringing which has often marked the oppressed men of his race. "A lofty self-consciousness finds expression in the letters of the Apostle," says Johannes Weiss,[1] "sometimes even with a touch of hardness and bluntness. He does not suffer any man to overpersuade him in his work; he declines to submit to criticism (I Cor. 10 [29]); he is unquestioningly sure of his cause, and knows that he will not be put to shame" (II Cor. 10 [8]). Deissmann[2] insists that Paul belonged to the class

[1] *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 15.

[2] *Paulus*, p. 35, 37: "To me it seems certain that Paul of Tarsus, though his native city was a centre of Greek culture, did not belong to the literary upper class, but to the artisan, unliterary class, and that he continued at that level." The question of Paul's circumstances is certainly obscure. Ramsay has suggested (*St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 34–6, 312) that his rich family cast him off after his conversion, but that, in his later days, there was a reconciliation. Lake (*Earlier Epistles*, p. 62) suggests that he was able and willing to pay for exceptional speed on his journeys. Deissmann admits that he travelled as if he had means, though he notes (*op. cit.*, p. 130) that he is only once found on horseback, and that he seems to have preferred walking to sailing (Acts 20 [13-14]). As to Paul's style, Deissmann is obsessed by his idea that the letter, as distinguished from the epistle, is "unliterary like a receipt or a lease" (*Paulus*, p. 6; cf. *Bible Studies*, p. 37, etc.). One marvels if a man who thus judges can ever have read good letters, for, however artless and unconsidered, these always proclaim their character as literature of the most admirable kind (so *Wendland*, pp. 278–9). Moffat (*N.T. Introd.*, p. 88) remarks that "Galatians is composed, not only with some care for language, but even with a rhythmical flow which recalls in several places the methods of contemporary rhetorical prose."

of artisans, that his style and vocabulary have no literary quality, and that even his handwriting (Gal. 6 [11]) was the cumbrous effort of a stiff-fingered working man. Every detail in this contention may be disputed; but if it could in fullness be established, one could only marvel the more that a man of such an upbringing should exhibit the temper of a Roman noble or of an aristocratic Englishman rather than that of his congeners who have had "sufferance as the badge of all their tribe." At Philippi he behaved towards the magistrates as that great gentleman, John Wesley,[1] on occasion did, declining to make it easy for them to escape from their own blunder. Emerson complains that the clergy tend to become the pensioners of the well-to-do, but here was a man able to stand on his own feet, possessed by a sense of personal honour which felt every imputation like a wound.

One aspect of this noble self-reverence which particularly concerns us in the Galatian Letter is Paul's attitude to the official heads of the Church. It is not possible to determine with certainty [2] the tone in which some of the references to the leaders

[1] In Acts 16 [37], 22 [25], 23 [3], 25 [10] we see his unwillingness to submit tamely to arbitrary inflictions: cf. Wesley's (*Journal*, March, 1745) letter to Robert Young: "I expect to see you, between this and Friday, and to hear from you that you are sensible of your fault; otherwise, in pity to your soul, I shall be obliged to inform the magistrates of your assaulting me yesterday in the street."

[2] Deissmann (*Paulus*, p. 9) thinks it is possible to discover "when Paul smiles and when he is angry," but that is true only within limits.

should be read, but certainly their suggestion is of something casual if not cavalier. Peter and James and John "seemed to be pillars" (2 9), and were admired as such, but of their title to such admiration Paul offers no opinion. Dr. Moffatt thinks that *οἱ δοκοῦντες* (2 2, 2 6 (*bis*), 2 9)—"the men of consequence"—was a catchword borrowed from the people's talk,[1] whilst others have taken it in an ironical and half-derisive sense. It is more probable that Paul is using his own words, and using them with an almost mystical earnestness. His desire was to get away from shows and to deal with realities; and so he adds (2 6), "whatever they were, it makes no difference to me; God accepts not the person of a man." When he alludes to his first meeting with Peter (1 18), there is nothing of scorn or irony.[2] "I came to see Peter," he says, making use of a dignified word. "Grave verbum quasi de re magna," says Bengel. "It is the word which people use who come to observe great and brilliant cities," says Chrysostom.[3] Just as we are told that foreigners came to England "to see the Lord Protector and Mr. Milton," so Paul, who had known Jerusalem before, came now with a different interest. His temper presents the most

[1] The repetition of the word is no evidence that it is borrowed. As Renan says of Paul: "A word haunts him, and he uses it again and again on the same page. Not from sterility but from the eagerness of his spirit, and his complete indifference to the correctness of his style."

[2] Bruce (*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 42) is over-ingenious in suspecting "a slight touch of humour."

[3] Meyer quotes from Josephus: "*οὐκ ἄσημος ὢν ἀνὴρ, ὃν ἐγὼ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἱστόρησα τὸν πόλεμον.*"

absolute contrast to that of another famous convert ; when Newman [1] came to Rome after his great change, he says, " Converts come not to criticize but to learn. . . . We submit ourselves, as our conscience tells us to do, to the mind of the Church as well as to her voice." But Paul had a better Teacher. " The whole effect of this matter," says Luther,[2] " lies in this word—to see ; I went, saith Paul, to *see* Peter, not to learn of him." That is the language of a self-respecting gentleman, who does not need to disparage others in order to secure his own standing.

Modern students of the Apostles scarcely need to be warned against the old error of making them stiff and faultless like the stony figures at a cathedral door, but enthusiasm leads to occasional lapses. Sir William Ramsay says [3] that " Paul, even if angry, was not one of those persons who lose their temper and say injudicious things " ; but such a report of a man so constituted would require much stronger evidence than is forthcoming, and it might with confidence be asserted that Paul, being such as he was, was *bound* to lose his temper, and sometimes to say and to do what would better have been omitted. The line which separates fiery courage from sheer provocation is easily crossed, though it is scarcely for cool-blooded creatures to pronounce when offence begins. In one of his letters from America,[4] Dickens tells how at Boston and again at

[1] Ward's *Life*, I. 134. [2] *Galatians*, p. 55.
[3] *Galatians*, p. 269.
[4] Forster's *Life of Dickens*, Bk. III, chap. III.

Hartford he spoke of international copyright. "My friends were paralysed with wonder at such audacity. The notion that I, a man alone by himself in America, should venture to suggest to Americans that there was one point on which they were neither just to their own countrymen nor to us, actually struck the boldest dumb. . . . I wish you could have seen the faces that I saw, down both sides of the table at Hartford, when I began to talk about Sir Walter Scott. I wish you could have heard how I gave it out. My blood so boiled as I thought of the monstrous injustice that I felt as if I were twelve feet high when I thrust it down their throats." That is admirable in its way, but it is very near the edge; and the line was surely crossed in the synagogue at Corinth,—"when the Jews opposed themselves and blasphemed, Paul *shook out his raiment*, and said to them, Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles" (Acts 18 [6]). It may well be that the word needed to be spoken; but how provocative was the manner of it! how characteristic of the Jew of the Ghetto, excitable, clamorous, not content to make his point but driving it home by scornful gesture! Again, before the Sanhedrin (Acts 23 [3]), his passion flares out: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall!" though it dies down at once, and, with beautifullest courtesy, he says: "I wist not, brethren, that he was the High Priest; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." When Paul persecuted, it was, as he confesses (Gal. 1 [13]), "beyond measure,"—

καθ' ὑπερβολήν. When he came to Athens he was exasperated (*παρωξύνετο*) in spirit by what he saw (Acts 17 [16]); and when he thought of those who were wrecking the Church in the interest of a doctrine of circumcision, his irritation breaks out in words ugly and insulting[1] (Gal. 5 [12]). "His nature," says Weinel,[2] "is not harmonious; passion carries him away; and his speech is not invariably the clear, calm expression of what was best in his character." Dr. John Brown,[3] writing when Dr. Candlish was dying, makes a comparison which is illuminating on both sides. "There is a great deal of St. Paul about Candlish. It is very impressive, this fierce, little, troublous, assertive man, lying there as simple as a child. I have always felt that, at his centre, he was good and true-hearted, and living very close to God, always getting more kindly, more desirous to agree and be happy, more aware of how small the big things are and how great the small." That is a saying of real insight; and if we do not acknowledge in Paul the nature hot and provocative, we shall do less than justice to the amazing patience which he displayed towards these exasperating brethren in Jerusalem, who distrusted and misliked him to the end, though he was always planning kindnesses for them.

A man of such a temper, both fearless and vehement, was bound to push things far, as neither

[1] See chap. I. p. 37; Wendland (p. 282), Lightfoot, Lietzmann, Adeney, etc., accept as certain the coarser meaning.

[2] *Paulus* (Eng. trans.), p. 358.

[3] *Letters*, 12 Oct., 1873.

indifference nor timidity would detain him. "In his thinking there was a passion for the absolute," says Sabatier [1] . . . "and there was in him something still more absolute than his intellect, his conscience." The lazy and unadventurous might be contented with an approximation, but this man, long before he was a Christian, had acquired the habit of carrying all things up to that tribunal where alone they could finally be judged. Such a nature creates its own problems, as indeed any man of individuality does. The arguments by which Paul breaks away from the entanglements in which his rabbinic training involved him are sometimes no arguments at all. He adduces passages which, strictly, are irrelevant; but every accustomed reader of books is aware how characteristic a man's use of a quotation may be. It is more to him than a step in an argument, much more than an external decoration; through the personal associations which it suggests, it may have power to change for him the whole atmosphere. And Paul's quotations are sometimes of that sort. But there are problems more deeply characteristic which were presented by his temperament. He was incapable of laying hold of anything limply, and contrasts which, for the indifferent, scarcely exist, were distracting and oppressive for him, "the sworn foe of any compromise." [2] For example, in the Epistle to the Romans, we find him troubled by the contrast

[1] *The Apostle Paul* (Eng. trans.), pp. 54–5.

[2] "Paulus der geschworene Feind jeder Halbheit" is a phrase of Friedländer's.

which is presented in two Greek words[1] ἄφεσις and πάρεσις. The one is the putting away of sin, the complete and unreserved forgiveness; the other is the putting aside of it, the temporary suspension of punishment. The former Paul could understand, for in her history Israel had had abundant experience of these amazing returns of the heart of God, when, for His own name's sake, He freely forgave His people. But πάρεσις, an ignoring of sin (cf. Acts 14 [16], 17 [30]), a seeming connivance of God with it — that, to this man's terrible conscience, was a bewildering mystery. There was a socket where an Eye should have been, a God unseeing, or absent, or negligent; and Paul could not rest until that mystery was removed. The Old Testament literature reveals an almost chronic discomfort in the mind of Israel at this point. Hebrew thinkers had struggled for long to maintain that God does, in fact, reward or punish within this life, but that had been a losing fight in face of the realities of every day; and many devout and speculative minds remained burdened by the sense that everywhere there was evil everywhere there was ill-deserving, and yet that God looked on and took no notice. But no one of those who had felt the burden had found it so intolerable as Paul. He could not say, like

[1] So Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. 92); Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 114 *seq.*, etc.; Deissmann (*Paulus*, p. 109) will not allow that any great distinction can be made between the words, but he does not justify an opinion which would require much justification, as the New Testament, certainly, suggests a

Voltaire,[1] "si tout n'est pas bien, tout est passable," accepting facts without sorrow and without indignation. His attitude was rather that which finds expression in one of Mr. Chesterton's fantastic romances: [2] "I can forgive God His anger though it destroyed nations; but I cannot forgive Him His peace." That was one problem which forced Paul on to Christ in whom he discovered at last "the exhibition of the righteousness of God, which was needed on account of the passing over, in His forbearance, of sins done aforetime" (Rom. 3 [25]).

A more familiar example of these personal problems is the discovery which Paul made of the Tenth Commandment (Rom. 7 [7-9]). Deissmann,[3] it is true, has claimed this as an experience of Paul's childhood, "when he still was unacquainted with the sense of guilt, or the very idea of sin. But there came for him an unforgettable day of pain, when the Law, which in the synagogue had, with reverent curiosity, been seen as a mere dumb roll, began to speak masterfully in his conscience." That is a possibility; but the gravity of the reference makes it far likelier that this desolating experience came to a grown man, and shortly before the crisis on the Damascus Road. He was a man impatient of makeshifts—"der geschworene Feind jeder Halbheit"; he could not let himself off, and he could not endure that even God should simply let a matter pass. In *Les Misérables* there is a curious secular caricature

[1] Quoted by Goethe in one of his letters to Frau von Stein.
[2] *The Man Who Was Thursday.*
[3] *Paulus,* p. 64.

of Paul's absolutism, in the person of a detective officer who embodies the relentless necessity (*ἀνάγκη*) of law. One day, this man, Javert, acts at the prompting of an instinct of mercy or of equity, and at once he reports himself to the authorities as an offender. "M. le Maire, I am bound to treat myself, as I would treat another man; when I was severe with scamps I often said to myself, if you ever catch *yourself* tripping you will need to look out! Well, I have tripped now; so much the worse for me." Javert's God was the Criminal Code, and his mind excluded the very idea of compromise; stern towards others, he was implacable and pitiless towards himself. And that was in Paul's temper also before he knew Jesus. "When the commandment came," and I realized that, in the whole region of desire and motive, I had not been obedient, "sin came to life in me, and I died" (Rom. 7 [9]). That was a situation, created by the very peculiarity of his nature, into which a mass of respectable people can never enter. Repentance, in any great sense, is due to a man's sharing, even for a moment, God's view of sin; and Paul describes what that wrought in him in the one word, "I *died*," hinting at tragic depths of feeling in which he was plunged.

Impressed by this quality of absoluteness in Paul's nature, Sabatier and others have pushed it further than the facts allow. "Paul's was a mind simple and complete," he says,[1] "all of a piece, one that above everything must be logical." Now, in many

[1] *The Apostle Paul*, p. 54.

portions of his life story, and in the whole of his thinking about the Law, Paul most attractively betrays the failure of his logic. His precepts about women (e.g. I Cor. 14 [34-35]) are clearly inconsistent with his great assertion that in Christ "there is neither male nor female" (Gal. 3 [28]); a wholly different group of considerations has been introduced. Much of his argumentation about the election of Israel in Romans 9, 10, 11 is really indefensible. Such an outburst, e.g. as that in 9 [19-20], is not logic, it is violence; the imperiousness of nature and of conviction bursts through the nets of argument. What M. Lockroy [1] has said of Louis Blanc might be applied to Paul in correction of Sabatier's exaggeration: "Je n'ai jamais rencontré d'homme aussi antinomique." "In his personality he has room for contradictions, which would have torn a smaller man in pieces," says Deissmann.[2] Sanday and Headlam [3] insist on the fluctuations of physical conditions by which constitutions like Paul's are marked. "There will be 'lucid moments' and more than moments—months together, during which the brain will work not only with ease and freedom, but with an intensity and power not vouchsafed to other men. And times like these will alternate with periods of depression when body and mind alike are sluggish and languid, and when an effort of will is needed to compel production of any kind."

[1] *Au Hasard de la Vie*, p. 243.

[2] *Paulus*, p. 42; cf. Schweitzer, *Paulinische Forschungen*, p. 100.

[3] *Romans*, p. lix., cf. p. lv.

"The difference in style between Romans and Ephesians would seem to be very largely a difference in the amount of vital energy thrown into the two Epistles." But beyond any such physical considerations, allowance must be made for the presence within the Apostle's mind of curious backwaters of prejudice through which the tides of new thought and feeling did not run. At many points, there appears in him a conservatism of sentiment, which led him to adhere to practices because of their associations, though, in his deliberate thinking, they had been outgrown, and these involved him in contradictions which are the perplexity of the logical historian. Hausrath [1] dismisses the story of Paul's vow at Jerusalem (Acts 21 [23] *seq.*) as incredible. "One could as well believe that Luther, in his old age, made a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, walking on peas, or that Calvin on his deathbed vowed a golden robe to the Holy Mother of God, as that the author of Romans and Galatians stood for seven days in the outer court of the Temple, and subjected himself to all the manipulations with which rabbinic ingenuity had surrounded the vow, and allowed all the liturgical nonsense of that age to be transacted for him by unbelieving priests and Levites." Jülicher [2] insists that if the story is true, it records "an elaborate act of hypocrisy." Weinel [3] grudgingly admits that there may be a nucleus of fact in the narrative, only he reckons that "the Paul who

[1] *Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 453.
[2] Quoted by Harnack, *Acts*, p. 235.
[3] *Paulus* (Eng. trans.), p. 235.

stands before the altar, with shorn locks, is not the man who influenced history," which possibly is true. And yet he may have been an essential part of that man; and the historian should take his hero as he finds him, with all his inconsistency and his weakness; for the very fact that a great man cultivates somewhere a secluded garden of sentiment and old prejudice, may count for something in the impact of his character when at work. Many a progressive Scotsman, keen and wary, and, as it seems, without a touch of imagination, has his heart warmed at a Highland Communion where only Psalms are sung, and sung sitting, and where the lengthy forms are observed which he remembers as a boy. His own Church stirs no such emotion; for no memory of childhood is awakened by it, or thoughts of his parents, or the world of quite illogical things. And Paul was fashioned of no different clay. He had been reared "in the straitest sect of the Pharisees"; he fancied that, without any absolute break, he was "serving God from his forefathers with a clean conscience" (II Tim. 1 [3]). "He was and he remained a Jew," says Harnack,[1] "and yet with his doctrine of freedom limited by faith alone, he anticipated the development of a whole epoch. The great region lying between these extreme points, with its gradual ascent, did not exist for him, though his contemporaries knew of nothing but that. Like all natures of true genius, he lived in the past and in

[1] *Acts*, p. xxvi. note; Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 67: "Paulus ist Jude geblieben auch als Christ, trotz seiner leidenschaftlichen Polemik gegen das Gesetz."

the future." Logically he was done with vows and all their associated formalities, but emotionally he clung to them; and where the interests of his work were not involved, he found pleasure [1] and even, perhaps, a certain advantage in the old observances. For his converts he nowhere suggests that Christian men were bound to abandon the Jewish practices,[2] though logic would have carried them to that conclusion; so long as they did not imagine that God's favour was gained by keeping the Law, he was willing that they should do it such homage as their heart and habit suggested. It was a spacious nature, with room within it for many seeming contradictions; and Paul never fell into the error from which even Luther did not escape,[3] of becoming a bigot for his own opinions. "He was a Paulinist, so to speak, against his will," says Bruce;[4] "he preached Paulinism, that which was most distinctive in his way of apprehending the faith, under compulsion; when free from the constraint of false and mischievous opinions, he taught the common faith of Christians in simple and untechnical language." And Dr. Harnack says,[5] "St. Paul was not so

[1] Harnack, *Acts*, p. 236.

[2] E.g. I Cor. 7 [18]: Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 278; Harnack, *Acts*, p. 282. Bacon (*Making of New Testament*, p. 62) greatly exaggerates when he talks of Paul as taking "the apostolic view that the Christian of Jewish birth remains under *obligation* to keep the Law."

[3] Wesley (*Journal*, II. 137) complains of Luther's "rough, intractable spirit and bitter zeal for opinions, so greatly obstructive of the work of God."

[4] *St. Paul's Conception*, etc., p. 14. [5] *Acts*, p. 300.

'Pauline,' if I may venture the word, as his biographers would have us think."

Thus, in outline, we have seen the character of this extraordinary man, independent, fiery, great of heart, creating for himself problems to which his answers were inevitably his own. But it is needful to consider that not only did Paul, as a man of vigorous nature, maintain his right to independence, he boldly asserts that, in fact, he had been indebted to no man. It may be said that it was his apostleship which he received from God, and not his message, but in his argument he does not distinguish between these. The narrative proceeds on the assumption that what made him an apostle was the communication of that knowledge of Christ which no man taught him. With a frankness which is almost defiant, he asserts his position (1 [1]) as "an apostle, not from men (e.g. the Eleven) as ultimate source, nor by any man as instrument." [1] As to the change of preposition it may be that Paul himself had no clear intention; the words came with a rush, and the phrase may be simply, as Lietzmann treats it,[2] an example of "rhetorical affluence"—"rhetorische Plerophorie." His success in his Gentile mission would be so hindered by the suspicion that he must look to Peter and the others for instruction, that he was concerned first with giving force to his words, force rather than meticulous precision. He was not

[1] So rendered by Bruce, p. 55: *Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου.*

[2] Lietzmann compares Rom. 3 [30], I Cor. 12 [8], II Cor. 3 [11] as similar instances.

forgetful, as we shall see, of debts which he owed to others ; but, so far as he knew himself, his essential message came not from without but from within. In Deissmann's [1] picturesque phrase, whilst " Philo was a lighthouse, Paul was a volcano " ; the one had to be trimmed and kindled by his teachers, whilst the other flared with inner fires. This independence must ultimately be interpreted as it was by Paul, *sub specie aeternitatis*. His apostolate, both in his message and his call, came from far-off sources. " It pleased Him who appointed me from my mother's womb and called me by His grace," is his own record of the position (1 [15]). Of Captain John Brown, the so-called " rebel," Emerson has said : [2] " His enterprise was not a piece of spite or revenge, a plot of two years or of twenty years, but the keeping of an oath made to heaven and earth forty-seven years before. Forty-seven years at least,—though I incline to accept his own account of the matter at Charlestown, which makes the date a little older, when he said, ' This was all settled millions of years before the world was made.' " That is purely Pauline, and it may help us to understand why he should so impatiently thrust away the sug-

[1] *Paulus*, p. 76.

[2] IV. 261 ; Jowett on Gal. 4 [4] : " This providential time is what the apostle calls ' the fullness of time,' not because, in the modern way of reflection, the causes and antecedents of the Gospel were already in being, but because it was appointed of God. . . . It is when contemplated from within, not from without, that it appears to him to be the fullness of time, standing in the same relation to the world at large that the moment of conversion does to the individual soul."

gestion of hints and conversations and instructions from yesterday or the day before, as explaining his call. Understand me once for all when I say that it pleased *God* to make me a minister, and that the matter takes beginning there.

But the soberly inquiring mind, after it has done homage to the majesty of such a conception, is inclined to return to its point ;[1] and Paul himself comes back to earth, and details the scanty opportunities given him of being instructed. At Damascus he made no stay, but withdrew into Arabia of which it was then a part. He paid one brief visit of a fortnight to Jerusalem, and saw Peter and James ; but he went to see, not to be taught. Fourteen years after his conversion, he went again in accordance with Divine direction (2 [2] ; cf. Acts 11 [28]), taking help to the famishing poor (2 [10]) ; but though he consulted the great men of the Church, they had nothing in addition to lay upon him.[2] From them nothing of what he preached was taken. But is such independence a gain ? In a world where man is linked with man in mutual debt, is this a wise or

[1] M. Loisy (*Choses Passées*, p. 74) : "Un matin de 1893, dans la sacristie de l'église des Carmes, l'excellent Abbé de Broglie me demanda où j'avais pris ces opinions. . . . Je ne sus pas lui répondre autrement qu'en posant un doigt sur mon front. Le fait est que je ne les avais empruntées nulle part."

[2] Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception*, etc., p. 57 : "The verb in classic Greek means to lay on an additional burden. In later Greek it means to impart to, either to give or to get advice, instruction or injunction. . . . In 1 [16] the word is employed in the sense, 'I did not consult to get advice.'"

indeed a practicable policy? Akhnaton,[1] that disastrous king and sore saint for Egypt, inscribed on one of the *stelae* which marked the limits of his new capital, "It was Aton my father (i.e. the Sun-god) who brought me to this city. There was not a noble nor any man in the whole land who led me to it, saying 'It is fitting for his majesty that he make a City of the Horizon of Aton in this place.' Nay, but it was the Aton, my father, who directed me to make it for him here." That is a claim as bald and more insistent than that of Paul; and yet a prudent man may ask if the inspired king would not have shown himself better inspired, if, in such a matter as founding a city, he had taken his councillors with him. The artist or author who boasts that he is self-taught, and that his work is due not to borrowing but to invincible originality, is apt at every turn to make his friends regret his lack of the discipline of teaching. He does not know what has been or what may be done, or what cannot be done, and thus a great part of his facility and native gift may be misapplied. In one of the most famous of his letters, Luther[2] writes to the Elector Frederick, "I hereby desire to make it known that I have not received the gospel from men, but from heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, so that I may well glory, as I henceforth shall do, in being able to style myself a servant and

[1] Weigall, *Life and Times of Akhnaton*, p. 96.

[2] Currie's translation, p. 98. This is the letter in which Carlyle's favourite phrases occur about "raining Duke Georges for nine days," and "as many devils as there are tiles on the house-roofs."

an evangelist." Such an assertion may move one's admiration, but it cannot fail to awaken questionings.

One part of the interest and the charm of great literature is the combination in it of originality and dependence. "The man of letters properly so called is a rather singular being.[1] . . . He is a tree on which have been grafted Homer, Virgil, Milton, Dante, Petrarch, and hence have grown peculiar flowers which are not natural, and yet which are not artificial. . . . With Homer he has looked upon the plain of Troy, and there has remained in his brain some of the light of the Grecian sky; he has taken a little of the pensive lustre of Virgil, as he wanders by his side on the slopes of the Aventine; he sees the world as Milton saw it through the gray mists of England, as Dante saw it through the clear and glowing light of Italy. Of all these colours he composes for himself a colour that is unique and his own." That does not mean that he culls phrases and passages from books, it means that the whole frame and disposition of his mind has been affected by those with whom he has held converse. "Once any man has true friends," says Dr. MacCunn,[2] "he must [illegible] which are most secret, as if he were alone in the world. He frames [illegible] company of his friends. In their visionary presence he thinks and acts, and by them, as a visionary tribunal, he feels himself, even in his unspoken

[1] Quoted from Dondan by John Morley, *Studies in Literature*, p. 217.

[2] *Making of Character*, p. 93.

intentions and inmost feelings, to be judged." If a man's loved books were shipwrecked [1] or burned he could no longer make express references; but lessons learned, and impulses received, and a certain imaginative habit established would continue with him, and appear in every deeper word he uttered. As men are made, it may be assumed that no mind stands wholly clear, but that even in working out its own peculiar result it is indebted for some impetus or enrichment to those before. "The ancients may be considered as a rich common," says Fielding,[2] "where every person who hath the smallest tenement in Parnassus hath a free right to fatten his muse—free to them as from a wealthy squire, not from one another, for that would be robbing the poor." And the authoritative ruling of Horatian law [3] is to the same effect: "The general stuff of poetry becomes a personal possession, when a man does not tarry within the circle of all that is common and obvious, and does not slavishly render word for word." Horace assumes that a man will borrow, at least, his subject; and more widely, it may be said that an originality so absolute that no element in it could be traced beyond the originating mind would be unintelligible; so we come back to the common-

[1] As Dr. Duff's were, on his way to India as a missionary.

[2] *Tom Jones*, Bk. XII, Chap. I.

[3] *Ars Poetica*, 131–4:—

> Publica materies privati juris erit, si
> Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
> Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
> Interpres.

sense of mental copyright, and admit that an idea, wherever it has come from, becomes his at last who says it with most individual distinction, and who says it best. Pascal, the many-sided, offers us both aspects of this matter in the "Pensées." Pleading for independence he says: [1] "Certain authors talking about their works, call them 'my book,' 'my commentary,' 'my history,' and so forth. They are like those worthy townsmen who are so taken up with their new abode that they bring 'my house' into every sentence. But really, it would be more suitable for them to talk of our book, our commentary, etc., since there is so much more of other people's stuff in it than of their own." But when this principle was being applied to his own work, he devised another rule: [2] "No one need say that I have told them nothing new; the arrangement is new. When people play at tennis, both sides use the same ball, but one places it better than the other." "The privilege of the original man is that, like other sovereign princes, he has the right to call in the current coin, and reissue it stamped with his own image." [3]

In spite of the peremptory form of his assertion, the Apostle was abundantly conscious that the Divine impulse did not come to a blank mind. With-

[1] Brunschvigg's arrangement, Section I, 43.

[2] Brunschvigg, Section I, 22.

[3] Lowell, *Among My Books*, p. 230; Francis Thompson (*Life* p. 160) says that "Spartan law holds good in literature, where to steal is honourable, provided it be done with skill and dexterity, wherefore Mercury was patron both of thieves and poets."

in him the sedulous training and example of a godly home had created that prejudice of instinct which is scarcely ever removed. It is noted of the upward struggle of the Christian Church that even an unconverted Scot or Englishman, who has lived in a Christian atmosphere and has assimilated some of its ideals, is, in many respects, beyond a new-made Christian in Formosa. He has an instinct of truth, a reverence for what is heroic, a scorn for what is shifty and double, which the other may never in all his life acquire. And Paul had such things to his credit. Then he had been instructed in the Old Testament, that spacious library, where part is ever at war with part, prophet and psalmist already pronouncing against the exorbitant claims of priesthood. Throughout his student days he had been drilled in the Rabbinic theology which, as his letters show, gave him problems pathetically deep and a zeal for God. "The objection is not to having founders, but to building slavishly upon them," [1] and Paul was not exempt from the universal debt. In particular, one must take account of one glorious line of his descent. When the religious history of Israel is considered as an intellectual process, Moses appears as the grand initiator; his work is the foundation on which all who came after had to build. But in the later stages three supreme, impulse-giving minds are recognized —Jeremiah, Jesus, and His bondservant Paul. These all are describable as individualists, for in their hands religion was rescued from being primarily a national concern, and was brought home to men's

[1] Oman, *The Church and the Divine Order*, p. 129.

bosoms. Jeremiah is one of the scanty company of those who say things for the first time; and much that he uttered remained unappropriated and scarcely understood until Jesus came, who, with His new confidence in the Father and His gift of inward peace, transformed the raw stuff of the prophet's thought, and in Paul's thinking many sections can be fully understood only as we fall back upon his two sublime teachers. Certainly, there could not be affirmed of him what Mr. Weigall says of his hero: [1] "Akhnaton had absolutely nothing to base his theories upon. He was, so far as we know, the first man to whom God revealed Himself as the passionless, all-loving essence of unqualified goodness."

What is there, then, remaining to justify Paul's assertion that he took his message and his standing "not from men as ultimate source nor by any man as instrument?" Paul repeatedly speaks of "my gospel" and "our gospel"; but when these references are examined, there seems to be nothing individual or peculiar about them. The one new element is the personal signature. What he calls "my gospel" was not a doctrine taken on authority, but a discovery and a personal certainty. "Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced," says Keats; [2] "even a proverb is no proverb to you till your life has illustrated it." "We read fine things,[3] but never feel them to the full, until we have gone the same steps as the author." Goethe says,[4] "What

[1] Weigall, *Akhnaton*, p. 123. [2] *Letters*, p. 237. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[4] "Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen."

thou hast by inheritance from thy fathers, that thou must acquire if it is to be thine own." And Heine,[1] with a fiercer sense of the compulsion of an apostolate, declares: "People fancy that our activities are purely a matter of choice, that out of the store of new ideas we catch at one, and are willing to speak, and work, and fight, and suffer for it, just as a scholar may single out a particular classic and spend his life in commenting upon it. But that is not so; we do not lay hold of an idea, the idea lays hold of us, and enslaves us, and flogs us out into the arena where, like gladiators pressed into the service, we do battle for it . . . We are not the lords, we are the servants of the word. . . . Amos said, I am no prophet or a prophet's son, but the Lord took me from the sheepfold and bade me go and prophesy. Luther said, Here stand I, I can do no other: God help me! And Robespierre said, I am a mere slave of freedom." That sort of compulsion Paul knew to the full. Nothing was tamely accepted by him as dogma, and handed on to others. The truth which he taught had found him, satisfied him, compelled him; and whatever it had been before, it came from him with the addition of a personality which it had subdued to its own uses. Ideas which had existed vaguely and in promise in the thought of his predecessors became explicit at the touch of this vehement and imperious nature; and, what was even of more account, what might have been dogma was freshly conceived by him as religion, and as such it was proclaimed. Hints and suggestions abounded in

[1] *Der Salon.*

books written before his time, and they had their place unconsciously within his mind; but nothing was claimed by him as his own, except that which he had learned in the one effectual way—in experience. If he shared the faith of Jeremiah, it was not because he had been taught it, but because he had discovered God to be such as the prophet had declared. "To Paul, Christianity was altogether a religion of deliverance," says Wernle.[1] "He had known by experience what it means to wish to do the will of God—and not to be able." "Generalizing from his own unhappy experience," says Dr. Moffatt,[2] "he held that the influence of the Law was deadening and oppressive, whereas a glad, free confidence born of a new vitality inspired the Christian." That individuality of experience made him sometimes less than fair to the religion which he had renounced; and just as we would not take unchecked Luther's account of mediaeval Christianity, so we must not hastily widen out Paul's estimate of the effect of the Law. "The tremendous spiritual crisis through which he broke into the faith of Christ was not a normal experience amongst Christians;[3] . . . the anguish of a soul broken down by the accusing witness of conscience was by no means the uniform preparation for faith in Jesus Christ. Devout souls, then as now, put their trust in God on simpler lines." "Paulinism was a type, it was not typical of early Christian thought." This may readily be admitted,

[1] *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 106.
[2] *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 49.
[3] Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

and we shall later see how willing Paul was to acknowledge the same faith in men who had arrived at it by different ways. But though his experience was individual, it was not eccentric ; and if anyone in that age had suggested, as Dr. McGiffert [1] has done in ours, that the need of Divine grace is a peculiarity of selected individuals, Paul would despairingly have brushed him aside as a man without understanding. In Galatians, as in all the Epistles, his recurring assumption is that grace is the fundamental thing, and that there can be nothing else than grace in a world pervaded by the energies of the God of whom Jesus told us. Different men might express their recognition of it with diverse degrees of clearness ; and as temperament varies, it is not the right of every one to appropriate the language of Paul or of Augustine, to whom God was everything in salvation. Paul's experience was entirely fresh and his own ; his energy and fearlessness of nature, fitted him both for understanding and for proclaiming it ; and it is these things which gave him a right to his message, making him feel that he had not received it or been taught it.

[1] *Protestant Thought before Kant*, p. 253 (note) : " It may not be out of place to remark here that one sees in this connexion, with uncommon clearness, the vicious consequence of universalizing an individual experience. Because one man feels his need of Divine grace, therefore all men must need it ; or because one man feels sufficient unto himself, therefore all men are. The history of theology is full of this kind of thing, and many of the most serious controversies and misunderstandings have resulted from it."

"The true Christian," says Vinet,[1] "I mean the Christian who is such not by convention, or inheritance, or system, or partisanship: the true Christian is eminently individual, and everything which characterized him before his conversion becomes more pronounced and declared." In the Pauline communities we see the process at work; slaves, who, before the law, were chattels and not men, and obscure people lost in the sordid life of a corrupt city, detach themselves and become persons, acknowledged as saints in Christ Jesus, as beloved of God. God, it would appear, makes men in the process of making Christians. But if individuality is thus fostered by the Christian faith, it is easy to see how supremely fitted Paul was to be its prophet. As we have observed his character, we can recognize him as set forth in the Providence of God to challenge the encroaching tide of deadening propriety within the Church.

[1] *Philosophie Morale*, p. 100.

CHAPTER III

THE POWER OF AN EXPERIENCE

"When it pleased God to reveal His Son in me."

TO the new "forcers" of conscience Paul offered the instinctive opposition of an energetic and freedom-loving man; but he found a better argument in the character of his own experience, into which there entered nothing of what these Judaizing Christians proclaimed as indispensable. When God revealed His Son in Paul (1 [16]), no national or ritual condition was imposed, no question was raised of his Jewish standing; there was an act universally credible and godlike, of condescending pity for an unhappy man, which carried with it such a tone of finality as left no room for doubting.

Paul was reverently conscious that, in his spiritual history, there were many stages before the last, for he had been appointed to this work from his mother's womb (1 [15]). "If we attempt," says Sir William Ramsay,[1] "to interpret this mystical religious statement in the language of history, it means that the family, the surroundings and the education of Paul had been selected with the perfection of a Divine

[1] *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 87.

purpose to make him fit to be what he was designed to be—' the Apostle of the Gentiles ' . . . Only ' a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews ' could be the Apostle of the perfected Judaic faith ; but he must be born and brought up in childhood among the Gentiles, a citizen of a Gentile city, a member of that conquering aristocracy of Romans which ruled all the cities of the Mediterranean world. . . . Tarsus was the city which most completely united the Oriental and the Western character." Paul was well aware that the purpose of God gathers into one the innumerable details of life and lot, but he would never have paused for long over such half-accidental matters. He looked to dates far anterior to the foundation of Tarsus or of Rome ; with all his heart he believed in a Divine fore-ordination, and he fancied that his career was fixed before the worlds were made. Reverently he notes the fact of his election of God, and then he hastens, in a phrase, to tell of the experience in which effect was given to the eternal purpose of God touching him. The incident of Paul's conversion has been so abundantly discussed from various points of view that it is enough to indicate one or two of the forces which contributed to bring it about. A vision such as he enjoyed is not an absolute beginning ; it is often, as in this case, the last explosive stage of a long process.

(*a*) The first point to be remarked on is the school in which he had been brought up—" the straitest sect of the Pharisees." Through the influence of the Evangelists, this name has come to convey for Christian minds a suggestion which is evil, but Pharisaism

was not entirely base. It was narrow, but it was not insincere ; and it was its very sincerity which made it a fitting preparation for this crisis in Paul's life. With his somewhat bitter zeal, Ezra had discerned that the one hope for Israel of surviving lay in the direction of isolation ; within its own enclosure, religious and social, it must work out its salvation. The recognition of this necessity led his followers to reject every proposal of compromise in matters of form, very much as extreme Anglicans do to-day. They may be conscious of nothing but goodwill towards their fellow-Christians, and would welcome, as they say, any honourable scheme of reunion ; but a proposal which threatens to infringe upon the peculiarity of the Church they feel bound to reject. Even for the sake of those they would fain have with them they reject it, for the richer life which they promise cannot be secured if, by compromise, the Church allows herself to become less distinctively a Divine corporation. When it was suggested, for example, that the Eastward position at the altar was a point which might be waived for the sake of conciliation, Dr. Liddon indignantly protested that it was " most important ; *it is doctrinal*" ; and it was with the same not ignoble intention that the Pharisee resented any suggestion of abatement in the traditional observance. If the Gentile could be saved, it must be by becoming an Israelite in the full sense, not by advancing to some intermediate position to which no promise attached. " To obliterate the lines of the Torah was unthinkable. It would be to renounce the very blessing for the sake of which they desired

that the Gentiles should come in." [1] Such insistence on outward formalities was sure to be misunderstood by common people, and in His reference to the matter of Corban,[2] Jesus shows how gross this misunderstanding was; but that reference must be taken as exhibiting not Pharisaism itself but a perversion to which it was naturally exposed. The witness of history is distinct as to the religious interest which was associated with the more eager study of the Law. "Under the shadow of the Law," says Dr. Ottley,[3] "there grew up a rich and deeply-rooted life of personal religion, the character and tone of which are best illustrated by the Psalter, that beautiful product of an age generally reputed to be one of barren legalism." The period in which Pharisaism was taking hold was also that in which Psalms like the seventy-third and the one hundred and nineteenth were composed, and during it religion became more personal, private prayer grew commoner, and the consciousness of sin deeper and more contrite. Pharisaism itself expressed the harder and more intellectual [4] elements of the movement, but it had

[1] Travis Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 325.

[2] Montefiore (*Synopt. Gospels*, Vol. I, p. 164 *seq.*) objects to this reference as a caricature; and Herford (*op. cit.*, p. 160) says: "Whether the error be due to the Evangelist or to Jesus Himself, an error it remains." The probability is that Jesus instanced an actual misunderstanding which He found current among the common people.

[3] *Religion of Israel*, p. 166.

[4] Herford, who has said all he can in praise of Pharisaism, admits (p. 313) that "the religion of Torah had its deepest root in the intellectual rather than in the moral or spiritual region of the

affinities of so noble a sort as make it worthy of serious regard. This was the school in which St. Paul was reared, and in which his moral ideals were confirmed, and perhaps created. It is easy to imagine the zest and hopefulness with which, coming as a lad to Jerusalem, he would fling himself upon the religious opportunities of the Temple. Luther describes himself [1] as running "like a crazy saint on pilgrimage through all the churches and catacombs of Rome"; "believing all the lies they told me, I was actually sorry that my father and mother were still alive, so gladly would I have delivered them from purgatory by good works and masses and prayers." Such heat of zeal is apt either to burn itself out, or else to break from the restraints imposed upon it; it may finally subside into a kind of formal indifference, or it may work havoc amongst all forms, but Paul leaves his readers in no doubt as to the first effect it had in himself. The system as he had learned it contained no room for compromise; it must be taken or left; and when, in his vehement fashion, he laid hold of it, and realized all that it meant, he confesses that "sin sprang to life in me and I died" (Rom. 7 [9]), that "through the Law is a complete knowledge

mind." It may be that this intellectualism contributed in Paul to the sudden explosion and overturn of old convictions. Brunschvigg (Pascal, *Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 3) notes how in Pascal and John Stuart Mill, who were treated in childhood as pure intelligences, the process of development ended "par une crise de sentiment"; and Paul might be suggested as a possible third in an extraordinary group.

[1] *Letters* (Currie's translation), p. 245; Köstlin's *Life* (Eng. trans.), p. 50.

(ἐπίγνωσις) of sin" (Rom. 3 [20]), and in a phrase which expresses the gloomy and despairing feeling with which he regarded his faults, he declares: "*Cursed* is every one who continueth not in all things that are written in the Law to do them." Within the stiff framework of Pharisaism, his effort and ardour, his prayer and zeal and study had driven him to this tragic disillusion.

(*b*) An influence of a more positive sort helped to prepare the way for the vision. Paul's very zeal as persecutor brought him more quickly to know the characteristics of this "new nation," as the Christians came to be styled. They were a people with many faults, but also with qualities which must have seemed to him supremely enviable; they were free from care, and possessed of what he afterwards learned to call "joy of the Holy Ghost," so that at their common meals their "elation and singleness of heart" broke forth in praise of God (Acts 2 [46]).

It is true that the word *Father* had a place in the religious vocabulary of the Jews, but these Christians made use of it with a quite new freedom as if they had a right to it, and the whole complexion of their life was determined by that. A Welsh evangelist of the eighteenth century [1] tells that when the fire of the love of God first fell upon him, he cried: "Abba, Father! Abba, Father!" "I could not help calling God my Father. I knew that I was His child, and that He loved me and heard me." Such a dis-

[1] Simon, *The Revival of Religion in England in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 141.

covery does something to the mind ; it gives another colour to all things in the world. " The appearance of everything is altered," says Jonathan Edwards ; [1] " there seems to be a calm, sweet cast of divine glory in everything. God's excellency, His wisdom, His purity, His love seemed to appear in all things—in the sun, moon and stars, in the clouds and blue sky, in the grass, flowers, trees, in the water and all nature." Such a brightening of the world's face was familiar to the Christian brotherhood. They could not describe redemption, for they were a simple people, but they had experienced it ; and Paul, oppressed and at war with himself, watched with fierce envy [2] these people who, with no sufficient title as it seemed, had yet attained to the enjoyments of the new covenant. For them there was a world of many shadows, as a persecuted man has never far to seek for occasions of fear ; but it was invaded by an always increasing light ; and even death, which continued to be terrible in Paul's view until Jesus had changed its aspect, had for them another look. These young Christians were propagandists all of them,[3]

[1] *Works of Jonathan Edwards,* (ed. 1834), p. lv.

[2] Weiss, *Paul and Jesus,* p. 61 : " Paul's view of the world was far more pessimistic than that of Jesus ; Jesus praises the beauty of the flowers of the field and the care of God for the ravens, while the Apostle hears only 'the groaning of the creature.'" Deissmann, *Paulus,* p. 65 : " He enjoyed no gay, sunny childhood."

[3] Moody, *Saints of Formosa,* p. 55 : " The glory of Chinese Christians is that, without going out of their way to make Christ known, they are ready to talk about God to their kindred and friends and fellow-travellers " ; cf. I Peter 3 [15], Col. 4 [6].

thrusting their new-born confidence upon him with almost insolent assurance. They were at the opposite pole of feeling from that at which M. Loisy [1] found his father who "held his tongue about religion because it had nothing to say to him"; in their eyes nothing was more interesting, nothing more vital. They had their new readings of Scripture, suggested by the Master Himself, and Paul could not summarily set these aside as inadmissible; and thus the more he had to do with the believers, the more he heard of these glad Christian certainties —of an amazing coming down, of God laying on Himself the task of restoring a lost race, of forgiveness secured to men by the mere grace of God.

(*c*) Another influence of an extraordinary sort has been conjectured, though the evidence is not conclusive. In II Corinthians, when Paul speaks of the new world which Christ had made by His death, a world in which every human life was seen in glory and in wonder against that great event as background, he adds (5 [16]): "Wherefore henceforth we know no man after the flesh (i.e., merely as our eyes report him to us); even though after the flesh we have known Christ, yet now we know Him thus no more." Admittedly the passage may be read in more ways than one. "Christ" may be a title of office —"the Messiah," [2] or it may be (as in I Cor. 15 [3]) a personal

[1] *Choses Passées*, p. 5.

[2] The majority of British expositors take Χριστόν as an official title qualified by κατὰ σάρκα—a Messiah conceived in a carnal way. So Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 16: "As a Jew I knew this type of Messiah—a national hero or official figure,

name. The clause, "after the flesh," hangs loosely, and may be taken in either of two connexions. Paul may intend a particular sort of knowing—such knowledge as eye and sense provide; or he may be thinking of a "Christ after the flesh," a Jewish Messiah, such as he once himself had dreamed of. The question cannot be absolutely decided. But if one takes it, as I do, that "Christ" here is a personal name and not an official title, then Paul must refer to some actual sight he once had of Jesus Christ, which, even against his will, had impressed his imagination. The Epistles are curiously sparing in their references to the events of the life of Jesus, but they abound in phrases which reveal His spirit and character, in a way that could scarcely be learned by mere report. Dean Stanley [1] remarks upon Paul's appeal to "the gentleness and sweet reasonableness of Christ" (II Cor. 10 [1]), that "these words are not the mere expressions of ideal adoration; they recall definite traits of a living human person, traits which could not be said to be specially exemplified in the Apostle himself, but which were exemplified to the full in the life of Him to whom the Apostle ascribes them."

robed in exclusiveness and external glory." So Denney, *II Corinthians*, p. 205; Bernard, *Expos. Greek Test., in loc.*; Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 266, etc. Alford understands "Christ after the flesh" as = Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth, a man and nothing more. Lietzmann (*Handb. zum N.T.*) and Johannes Weiss (*Paul and Jesus*) take Christ here as a proper name, and κατὰ σάρκα as qualifying ἐγνώκαμεν; Paul, with his eyes, had seen Jesus, but that did not bring him to the true end of knowledge.

[1] *Epistles to the Corinthians*, p. 582; see whole Excursus.

Two phrases are preserved which Paul did not receive from others but seemed to hear directly from the Lord Himself: the one is, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," and the other is, "My grace is sufficient for thee, my strength is perfected in weakness." And Stanley remarks: "These words of Christ are an exact reflex of the union of Divine strength with human weakness which pervades the narrative of the Gospels. There is the same combination of majesty and tenderness, the same strength and virtue going forth to heal the troubled spirit, as of old to restore the sick and comfort the afflicted." One of the most sympathetic and beautiful of modern German books (*Paul and Jesus*, by Dr. Johannes Weiss) lays much stress upon the point that what Paul has taken from Jesus is the impression of a personal character, and that this gives colour to all his ethical teaching. We must not exaggerate what is at most a fair degree of probability, but so much, at least, may be asserted. It is no unsupported phantasy that Paul, though with jaundiced eyes, had seen Jesus, thinking of Him only as a disturber of the worship of God, and that the memory of the encounter had remained with him, like a fragrance, subtly influencing thought and memory and feeling.

It was in ways like these that materials were gathered which made an explosion unavoidable. The education of a man passionately moral and mystical in a system which was stronger on its intellectual than on its spiritual side; a growing disenchantment as to the prospects of his nation, and a sudden collapse and something like despair in his own life of moral

endeavour. Then came the advent of new impressions, graces springing up where they ought not, a new attitude exhibited both to life and death, and the insistent reiteration of bewildering claims on behalf of One whom he had seen and could never forget. It is not surprising that his life should thus have passed into conditions of unstable equilibrium. It is unlikely that Paul's intellectual convictions were shaken.[1] He would brace himself for the conflict in defence of the faith in which he had been brought up, and his indignation would even grow hotter against the extraordinary lightness and shallowness of these people who did not know what they were threatening. They continued in Judaism, worshipping in the Temple and observing its rites, and yet Paul saw that, if their views were sound, the Temple had lost its awe and the worship its sanction. So he went like a stubborn ox, kicking against the goad, in growing discomfort but with conviction scarcely changed. Then there came the blinding light, with the vision of the Figure which he remembered. He never doubted that it was of God's sending, as real and as authoritative as any of the appearances within the Forty Days ; and it made an

[1] Weiss (*Paul and Jesus*, p. 35) goes quite too far in saying, "He must already have been half-persuaded, and have plunged into the task of persecution with forced zeal and an uneasy conscience." Dr. Rainy, in a published lecture on Paul (*Evangelical Succession*, p. 17), says, "There is not the smallest reason to believe that Paul was inwardly shaken in his convictions ; he felt that there was a strength in this Christianity which made it no despicable foe, appealing so successfully to religious faith and fervour that it threatened to sap the strength of Judaism."

end of his questionings. "Great writers," says Gardner,[1] "sometimes set out in one direction; and then, falling under the influence of a powerful teacher, they alter their course, or even retrace their steps. . . . But Paul had one great crisis, and then he reset his sails."

With regard to the vision, one fact invites attention. Three times over in the Book of Acts, some record is given of the external incident; but in the Letters this outward part is never mentioned, and Paul directs the attention of his friends always to what took place within. "It pleased God to reveal His Son *in* me." Apparently he was conscious that the dramatic story had interest for the purposes of public speech, but what more deeply concerned him was the *seeing with the heart*, and on that point many of the greatest teachers are agreed. "It is the Inward Master that teacheth," says Augustine,[2] "and where this inspiration and sanction are wanting, it is vain that words from without are beaten in." "Those who hear only an outward and bodily voice," says Melanchthon,[3] "hear the creature; but God is a Spirit, and is neither known nor heard but by the Spirit." "There are two ways of knowledge," says Vinet,"[4] "the one is of the formula, the other of the essence. The first belongs to the intelligence which recognizes abstractions and forms; the second belongs to the soul, which sees realities and substance. To know in the first way is to know (*savoir*), to learn in

[1] *Experience of St. Paul*, p. 17.
[2] Robert Barclay, *Apology*, p. 21. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[4] *Morale*, p. 92.

the second way is to see (*voir*)." And one will never travel far in the interpretation of Paul's words who does not make his beginning in this mystical experience of the soul. With admirable insight, Johannes Weiss [1] acknowledges that " those who inquire what faith meant for Paul will learn less from the passages where πίστις occurs than from such passages as Romans 8 [31-9] where the term is replaced by the stronger πέπεισμαι." Faith is not a *quies intellectus*, as some of the Schoolmen affirmed, an acquiescence in answers given to problems of the mind; it is a confidence of salvation, a sense that God has taken a man's affairs into His own hands; it is a " pure faculty of receptivity, which abandons the guidance of self, and simply receives the proffered salvation." And this requires such an inner revelation as will flood and silence the heart.

One other point on which Paul insists in connexion with his conversion is the utter bareness of it; it was wholly an operation of the mercy of God. He compares it (II Cor. 4 [6]) to nothing less august than the birth of light in the world: " It is God, who said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who has shined in our hearts." He knew what it is for a man to live in the dark, such darkness as if there never had been day; and he knew how at the Divine *Fiat Lux*, a new creation appeared in him, with order, gladness, movement in it. That change he had experienced, and he knew that there was no condition attached to it: no condition precedent, as if God had waited for some effort or attainment in him. " Isaiah is

[1] *Paul and Jesus*, p. 109.

very bold," he writes (Rom. 10 [20]), and says: "I was found of them that seek Me not, I was revealed to men not asking for Me." As Paul passed on in life, this aspect of the matter seems constantly to have impressed him more. "I obtained mercy," he writes in one place (I Tim. 1 [13]); [1] for though I had no merit but demerit of the darkest sort, yet this new life was granted to me in the inexplicable kindness of God. It is precarious to thrust in as a condition precedent to the enjoyment of God's favour even such an act as baptism, as Dr. Sanday [2] inclines to do. "St. Paul refers all his conscious experience of the privileges of Christianity to the operation of the Holy Spirit, dating from the time when he definitively enrolled himself as a Christian, i.e. from his baptism." No doubt he had his days of bewilderment in Damascus when he groped in the gloom for a hand; and these reached their end through the cordial kindliness of a good man, who, in Christ's name, welcomed him. But God's grace does not wait upon any form. "I opened the book, and read in silence the chapter on which my eyes first fell," says Augustine.[3] . . . "I cared to read no farther, nor was there need of it, since at once, with the ending of this sentence, the light of security was poured into my heart, and all the gloom of hesitation fled away." When God is thus discovered, there is no need, there is no room for intervention. God in the heart is sufficient for His own affairs. And as there was no condition prece-

[1] ἠλεήθην: if this fragment (1 [12-17]) may be taken as authentic.
[2] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 126.
[3] *Confessions*, VIII. 12.

dent, so there was no condition subsequent. This mercy, which required no occasion or provocation outside of itself, imposed no burdens afterwards. The wonderful new life into which it had ushered Paul was wholly free. The old obligations were cancelled; the hampering regard for men's opinion and the ancient, instinctive dread of God had disappeared. "The caddis-fly leaves his tube behind, and soars into the upper air," says Edward Carpenter;[1] "the creature abandons its barnacle existence on the rock, and swims at large in the sea. It is when we die to custom that we rise into the true life of humanity; it is when we abandon all prejudice of our own superiority, and become convinced of our entire indefensibleness that the world opens out with comrade faces in all directions." Some revolution like that, wide and sweeping in its effect, had taken place in Paul, and in this God was first and last and everything. No consideration or condition was intruded except the mere mercy of God, which will make all things new.

From every latitude of the world of religious experience, and with immense diversity of dramatic detail, there come personal histories more or less akin to Paul's and all of them are marked by the one note of unwavering certainty. With characteristic sobriety and dryness, John Woolman[2] relates *his* story: "Being in good health, and abroad with Friends visiting families, I lodged at a Friend's house in Burlington. Going to bed about the time usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations

[1] *Civilization*, p. 153. [2] *Journal* (Smellie's edition), p. 108.

as I lay were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord, in a sense whereof my heart was contrited. After this I went to sleep again, but in a short time I awoke. It was yet dark, and no appearance of day or moonshine; and as I opened mine eyes I saw a light in my chamber, at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches in diameter, of a clear, easy brightness,[1] and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still, looking upon it without any surprise, words were spoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward man. They were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One spoken in my mind. The words were, *Certain Evidence of Divine Truth*. They were again repeated exactly in the same manner, and then the light disappeared." Of Loyola it is related [2] that one day, on his way to Manresa, "the eyes of his mind were opened so that he understood spiritual things with such clearness that for him all these things were made new. If all the enlightenment and help he had received from God in the whole course of his life were gathered together in one heap, these all would appear less than had been given him at this one time." Principal Shairp [3] relates how Thomas Erskine once spoke to him "of the awful silence of God, how it sometimes

[1] Contrast this "clear, easy brightness" with Paul's more vehement "a light from heaven above the brightness of the sun," and Pascal's "Fire." Even in Divine things, men's seeing is affected by their temperament.

[2] Quoted by Dr. Steven, *Psychology of the Christian Soul*, p. 165.

[3] Erskine's *Letters*, p. 539.

became oppressive, and the heart longed to hear some audible voice in answer to its cry. Then he quoted that word, ' Be not silent to me, O Lord, lest if Thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit ' ; and then he added, ' But it has not always been silence to me. I have had one revelation. . . . It was not a revelation of anything that was new to me ; after it I did not know anything which I did not know before, but it was a joy for which one might bear any sorrow. I felt the power of love, that God is love, that He loved me, that He had spoken to me,'—and then, after a long pause,—' that He had broken silence to me.' " After Pascal's death, there was discovered, sewn into his doublet, a document which suggests what " the tongues " at their noblest may have been.[1] It is carefully dated—" Monday, the 23rd of November, 1654, between half-past ten at night, and half-past twelve," for that was a time to be remembered. It begins thus [2]—

FIRE.
God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob—
Not of philosophers or the wise—
Certainty, Certainty, Feeling, Joy, Peace.

Throughout all its stages, this " Amulet " is the stammering utterance of a nature flooded and over-

[1] Lindsay, *Church and Ministry* p. 47, " We may conceive it to have been rapt, ejaculatory prayer, uttered during unrestrained emotion, where words often took the place of sentences . . . sentences so rugged and disjointed that the audience for the most part could not understand."

[2] Brunschvigg's edition of *Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 142.

whelmed by the Divine revelations ; but though the utterance is broken, the man is entirely sure that he did see, and it is not difficult in these first phrases to spell out the course by which he travelled. After the blaze of brightness (Fire), which is so common a feature in such experiences, there was borne in upon him the sense of a God who deals with men one by one and makes Himself to each a friend, and that not by the way of the intellect but more convincingly--by the way of feeling. "Certainty, Certainty, Feeling, Joy, Peace." Alongside of these almost dramatic discoveries of God, there are others no less individual and no less convincing, though the process of discovery may seem to be more ordinary. Professor W. P. Paterson [1] makes one main distinction between the Divine revelations as "between the type of experience in which the normal conditions of the intellectual life are suspended and supplemented, and that in which the higher illumination is blended with the ordinary processes of thought and will." Under the latter heading may be gathered experiences such as those described by Calvin in the first book of the *Institutes*,[2] though students of Mysticism are inclined to ignore them altogether : "Of this kind is the persuasion which does not seek for reasons ; of this kind is the knowledge with which the best reason concurs, but in which the mind rests more securely and more constantly than in any reasons ; of this kind is the feeling [3] which can take its rise in

[1] *The Rule of Faith*, p. 82.
[2] *Instit.*, I. VII. 5.
[3] *Sensus*, cf. Pascal's *sentiment*.

nothing short of a heavenly revelation. I speak no other thing than every single believer experiences in himself, with the one exception that words fall far below a just exhibition of the thing." Coleridge [1] is aiming at the same mark when he declares that "whatever *finds* me bears witness for itself that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit," and that "in the Bible there is more that finds me than I have experienced in all books put together, and the words of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being." And turning for one last example to regions beyond Church and Bible, I may take a saying of Emerson's :[2] "Devout men have used different images to suggest this latent force, as the light, the seed, the Spirit—all indicating its power and its latency. It refuses to appear, it is too small to be seen, too obscure to be spoken of ; but such as it is, it creates a faith which the contradiction of all mankind cannot shake, and which the consent of all mankind cannot confirm.[3] It is serenely above all mediation. In all ages, to all men, it saith, I am ; and he who hears it feels the impiety of wandering from this revelation to any record or to any rival. The poor Jews of the wilderness cried, 'Let not the Lord speak to us ; let Moses speak.' But the sincere and simple soul

[1] *Aids to Reflection* (Bell's edition), pp. 295–6.

[2] IV. 310.

[3] It is interesting to compare a MS. note of Newman's of date 1817, when the writer was only sixteen : "The reality of conversion, as cutting at the root of doubt, providing a chain between God and the soul, that is with every link complete ; I know I am right. How do you know it ? I know, I know." See *Letters and Correspondence*, I. 21.

makes the contrary prayer, 'Let no intruder come between Thee and me; deal *Thou* with me; let me know it is Thy will, and I ask no more.'"

These utterances all belong to the realm of Mysticism, which though it has sometimes been narrowed by unwise definition, embraces all the experiences in which some noble instinct of the heart outstrips the slower movement of the logical mind. Dr. Inge, who himself is an offender and has greatly obscured the whole conception by his sweeping exclusions,[1] has laid it down as his first essential proposition[2] that "the soul (as well as the body) can see and perceive. We have an organ or faculty for the discernment of spiritual truth, which, in its proper sphere, is as much to be trusted as the organs of sensation in theirs." The psychology of the sentence, with its suggestion of separate organs or faculties, is a little old-fashioned; but the meaning is sound. Its one grave defect lies in the insistence on the discernment of "spiritual truth," instead of spiritual reality. Our bodily senses do not discern truth, they hint at objects; and this spiritual vision also reports objects.

[1] E.g., p. 39: "The Jewish mind and character, in spite of its deeply religious bent, was alien to Mysticism"; pp. 63–4: "These recorded experiences (visions, ecstasies, etc., in Paul's life) are of great psychological interest; but they do not seem to me to belong to the essence of Mysticism." Certainly *quâ* visions, they do not, but *quâ* direct discoveries of God by the heart (e.g. II Cor 12 [9]) they are eminently and centrally mystical. There was nothing of vision in Calvin, yet how clear is his affirmation of this immediate recognition of God by the soul; and in that the Jews are the world's forerunners.

[2] *Christian Mysticism*, p. 6

God is best discerned by an intellectual touch (νοερᾷ ἐπαφῇ), as Plotinus says ;[1] but it is God Himself and not some truth about Him, which is discerned. One can only smile when Dr. Inge affirms[2] that "Isaiah, in the words Holy, Holy, Holy, perceived dimly the mystery of the Trinity," and that "Moses at Mount Horeb heard, during the vision of the burning bush, a proclamation of God as the 'I am,' the Eternal who is exalted above time." Isaiah had more important matters to engage him that day than a doctrine of the Trinity ; before the mist of human weakness drifted across his sense, he had seen in one glimpse the reality of God, and that vision made a prophet of him. And Moses was not concerned with any such intellectual interpretation of his vision, as Dr. Inge suggests ; with his soul he looked into the heart of God, and recognized a nature turning towards men, a nature which was an embodied promise.[3] The assurance given him in that sight of God, he expressed in the mysterious name, "I will be" ; but what the vision offered was not some truth about God but an immediacy of relation with God Himself. "Let us say it once for all," says Duhm,[4] "that religion is a mystical thing from beginning to end." The knowledge we have in it, in Luther's phrase,[5] is

[1] Quoted by Barclay, *Apology*, p. 24. [2] P. 18.

[3] A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 58 : "Jehovah is God in Israel, God saying—I will be : God in the act of communicating the riches of Himself more and more, pouring out all His contents into the life of Israel" ; p. 56 : "The name is equivalent almost to ὁ ἐρχόμενος."

[4] *The Ever Coming Kingdom*, p. 14.

[5] *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 319.

"passive rather than active; that is, it consisteth in this that we are known of God rather than that we know Him." The mind submits, and into it there streams the fullness of the sense of a Life beyond our own; "we see into the life of things." [1] Nothing can seem more conclusve than this or more unanswerable. "The contradiction of all mankind cannot shake it, and the consent of all mankind cannot confirm it." And it was with such an unchallengeable experience of God Himself, known and felt at first hand, that Paul confronted the authority of the Judaizing party. Deissmann describes [2] him as "eine mystischprophetische natur; und gegenüber diesem Zuge verschwindet das Theologische fast ganz," which may be paraphrased that when he spoke as prophet, it was not in the name of reasonings or inferences in theology, but with the authority of an immediate mystical perception.

When anyone speaks in this way, the question lies near as to the nature or the instrument of this

[1] Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey."

[2] *Paulus*, p. 57. Deissmann speaks of Paul's "*dateable* ecstasies and special revelations." The instances he gives are II Cor. 12 [2]: "a man in Christ above fourteen years ago," and Gal. 2 [1]: "fourteen years after, I went up to Jerusalem by revelation." (The latter is a doubtful case, as the revelation—see Acts 11 [28]—was probably another man's.) Deissmann compares Isa. 6 [1], alongside of which may be set Ezek. 1 [1], Pascal's *Amulet*, with its precision of day and hour, and Woolman's accuracy of feet and inches. One of the surprises of the mystical experience is that when sense is submerged, there remains in some men such capacity for definiteness.

experience? We are rational creatures, and are excusably impatient of any theory which seems, at the critical point, to call for the surrender of the reason. Now Pascal and Calvin, in word at least, agree in attributing their discovery of Christ to some power they call feeling (*sentiment, sensus*); Coleridge vaguely speaks of something which "finds" him; Woolman confesses that his new confidence was not "the effect of thought"; and on many levels the same confession recurs. In one of his *Letters*,[1] Keats exclaims, "Oh for a world of sensations rather than of thoughts!" But Keats was a poet, of whom even so kindly a critic as James Smetham [2] wrote: "He has no reasoning in him. His letters are like the flight of small hedge-birds—hop, hop, twitter, twitter, saving now and then a flight into a little oak-tree. They are tender-legged, too, like linnets, not having much to stand on." That is hardly the kind of judgment to which a lover of the faith would care to see it exposed. He looks to a city which has foundations, and would fain have the comfort of the inviolable and the unshaken with him now. And yet many great writers, when they seek to express the secret of their knowledge of God, have fallen back upon the bare assertion, "I feel it." In "In Memoriam," [3] e.g., Tennyson says:—

> A warmth within my breast would melt
> The freezing reason's colder part;
> And like a man in wrath, my heart
> Stood up and answered, I have felt.

[1] *Letters*, p. 42. [2] *Letters of James Smetham*, p. 57.
[3] CXXIV. 4.

A much greater man and thinker than Tennyson, Blaise Pascal,[1] says, "It is the heart which feels God, not the reasoning faculty. That is what faith is—God sensible to the heart." And again he writes, "The heart has its own reasons, which the reasoning faculty does not know." There, on the surface, the case seems given away, so far as the intellect is concerned, and nothing is left but a blur of emotion, of which Nietzsche[2] might bluntly say that "love is the state in which man sees things most different from what they are." But what is meant by the heart in this connexion, or by feeling? Dr. W. P. Paterson,[3] in a phrase which he afterwards amends, speaks of it as something which "lies on the emotional plane"; but to understand it thus is to be misled by the mere sound of a word. The feeling which is thus appealed to is not one faculty set over against other faculties, and preferred to them; it is rather the nature taken as a whole, operating in a particular way, but including all the faculties and using each as it can serve the common end.[4] "When the soul feels it is called

[1] *Pensées*, Sect. IV, 277–8.

[2] *Antichrist*, p. 153.

[3] *Rule of Faith*, p. 135. Dr. Paterson does more justice to what Schleiermacher means by "feeling" when he returns to the subject (p. 361), though he refers to "a provisional impression that all which S. attributed to Christianity was the enjoyment of a refined spiritual luxury." Any serious consideration of Schleiermacher's dominant phrase "Anschauung und Gefühl des Universums" should make the continuance of this "provisional impression" very brief.

[4] Coleridge, *Biog. Lit.*, p. 354, speaks of religion as "a total act of the soul."

sense," says Alcuin,[1] " and when it understands it is called mind " ; but that does not involve the clash of rival energies, it is the varying activity of one rational creature, in which both thought and sense inhere ; and experience of every kind is the experience of a person who both feels and thinks, so that both elements are present at once. Sir Henry Jones[2] puts it thus : " When an individual, clinging to his moral or religious faith, says—I have felt it, he opposes to the doubt not his feelings as such but his personality in all the wealth of its experience." " We think," says Bergson, " with only a small part of our past ; but it is with our entire past, including the original bent of the soul, that we desire and will and act." There is in man what Aristotle calls an " unreasoning part of the soul," [3] in which he includes both passion and moral character, and which may be compared with what is vaguely called instinct. A judge of a certain type may see what his decision ought to be, and the decision may be unimpeachable ; but if he is wise he will not elaborate his reasons, for it is not reasons which have determined his conclusion, but a certain soundness of nature. Now when Pascal asserts that " the heart has its reasons," he

[1] Quoted by Illingworth—*Divine Immanence*, p. 57.

[2] *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*, Chap. x., " The Heart and the Head."

[3] *Magna Moralia*, Bk. I, c. 1. ; cf. Plato's discussion in the *Meno* (97–101) of what he calls " right opinion " (*ὀρθὴ δόξα*). " Men act rightly because they believe rightly without knowing. Such right belief comes to men by the grace of God, and cannot be imparted by instruction or argument," says Mr. A. D. Lindsay in an essay on the Socratic Discourses.

has in view not mere emotion, but this inarticulate power of sense or divination; and his meaning appears more clearly in the frankness with which he applies this instrument to other matters than religion.[1] "The heart feels that there are three dimensions of space," he says. "We know the truth not only by reasoning but also by the heart, and it is in the latter way that we come to know first principles. . . . The knowledge that there is space, time, movement, number is as steadfast as any that comes by reasoning." Nothing can be less emotional than mathematics; and yet of such matters as seemed to Pascal fundamental, and thus not susceptible of proof, he is content to say, "I see that, and you do not need to prove it to me." But that power of seeing or "feeling" was very far from being irrational; it depended upon the whole build of his nature, upon his general lucidity and the fullness of his knowledge, which made special proof superfluous. What is called "feeling" is no blur of emotion, but a true instrument of apprehension.

Pascal carries us one stage farther in his investigation of this direct perception of divine things. Davenant has defined wit as "a new and remoter way of thinking," which means that wit leaps to con-

[1] *Pensées*, Sect. IV, 282; cf. Robert Barclay, *Apology*, p. 4: "This inward illumination is that which is evident and clear by itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent, as that the whole is greater than its part, that two contradictory sayings cannot be both true nor both false, etc."

clusions without tarrying over all the intermediate stages by which the logical intellect must advance ; in one swift flash of recognition, it discerns the contrasts and the resemblances of things, and sets them sharply side by side ; but in that swift act of recognition all sorts of detailed comparison are involved. Wit contains them, though it does not tarry over them. If one could analyse the mental process by which a man of mathematical genius at once perceives what his neighbour can only arrive at by cumbrous demonstration, one might again call it " a new and remoter way of thinking." In that immediate recognition of a truth or fact, the ordinary stages of reasoning are all crushed together and their distinctions obliterated ; but the process is none the less an absolutely intellectual one. Heine [1] says of Napoleon : " His eyes could read into the heart of men ; swiftly they saw all things in the world *at once*, whilst we can see them one after another, and then only their painted shadows." Louis Stevenson [2] declares that in his practice " the engineer has need of some transcendental sense. Smeaton, the pioneer, bade him obey his ' feelings ' ; my father called it ' that power of estimating obscure forces which supplies a coefficient of its own to every rule.' The rules must be everywhere indeed, but they must everywhere be modified by this transcendental coefficient, everywhere they must be bent to the trained eye and the feelings of the engineer. A sentiment of physical laws and of the scale of nature, which shall have been strong in the beginning and progressively

[1] *Buch Le Grand.* [2] *Family of Engineers*, p. 84.

fortified by observation, must be his guide in the last recourse." "It is of the essence of this knowledge or this knack of mind to be largely incommunicable. 'It cannot be imparted to another,' says my father. The verbal casting-net is thrown in vain over these evanescent, inferential relations." It is in harmony with such dicta that we find Pascal [1] bluntly saying that "love and reason are only one thing. Love is a *precipitancy of thought* which rushes in one direction without examining every detail, but none the less, it is a kind of reason." The Gospel has in all ages commended itself to many as true, and even as having every look of truth; its highest evidence is felt to be found in itself; but the appreciation of any such evidence must depend on the condition of those to whom it is presented. If a man is indifferent, or pusillanimous, or impure, or false, the appeal of Christ may be lost upon him, for nobility requires the noble for its recognition. And whatever augments the sum and vitality of a man's being, making him a bigger man with grander range, tends to make other elements of truth self-evident to him, so that his power of vision grows.

Such an account of the process of this kind of knowledge makes the need of Divine intervention more obvious.[2] If no man by taking thought can

[1] "Discours sur les passions de l'amour"; *Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 133.

[2] Plato, *Meno*, 100: "If we at this time have pursued our inquiries and reasonings aright, virtue can neither come by nature nor by teaching; but to those with whom it is, it must come by a Divine portion or allotment."

add one cubit to his stature, he certainly cannot, by any form of resolution, make himself a bigger or a better man. At one stage of his career as an amorist, Burns [1] speaks about "battering himself into an affection" for a girl, but both human nature and experience look doubtfully upon any such methods of force in affairs of the heart. And, in spite of precedents, the same objection applies to the deliberate and self-conscious cultivation of religion. In a letter to Mrs. Froude, Newman [2] says: "I wish you would consider whether you have a right notion of how to gain faith. It is, we know, the gift of God, but I am speaking of it as a human process and attained by human means. Faith, then, is not a conclusion from premises, but the result of an act of will following upon a conviction that to believe is a duty." That opens up a dreary prospect before men of "battering themselves" into faith; and Pascal, here also furnishes the most conspicuous example of the process and of its failure. His sister Jacqueline [3]

[1] Henley's edition, IV. 282.

[2] Ward's *Life of Newman*, I. 242; cf. *Letters and Correspondence*, II. 366, which gives a more defensible view: "Religious truth is reached, not by reasoning but by an inward perception. Anyone can reason; only disciplined, educated, formed minds can perceive. Nothing, then, is more important to you than habits of self-command. You are overflowing with feeling and impulse; these must be restrained, brought under, converted into principles and habits, or elements of character. Consider that you have this great work to do—to change yourself."

[3] Cousin's *Jacqueline Pascal*, pp. 243–4. There had been an earlier movement of the heart towards faith of which Brunschvigg (p. 47) says uncomprehendingly: "Pascal qui n'était que chrétien jusque-là va devenir janséniste." Really he had been

records that at one stage in his life he opened his mind to her in a way which moved her pity, "confessing that, in the midst of great occupations and interests which might well have put him in love with the world, . . . he found himself detached from everything in such a way as he had never even faintly known. And on the other hand, he was in such a state of desertion that he had no drawings towards God. He forced himself in this direction with all his might, but he was conscious that it was his own reason and his own intellect which were urging him to what he knew to be best, and not any movement on God's side." Montaigne was still at this time his "profane bible," and from him he learned that, at bottom, a man's nature is a custom or a bundle of customs; so, in his search for satisfaction, it was of this idea that Pascal laid hold. He would come at faith by continuously acting as if he already possessed it, taking holy water, attending Masses, saying prayers; and he trusted that these actions, by repetition, would harden into custom, and thus establish the faith [1] of which they ought to

a Catholic, he was on the way to be a Christian. Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, II. 12, says: "At Port Royal that was called conversion, which would have seemed superfluous and without reason in any place where religion was less inward in its character."

[1] John Wesley got the advice: "Preach faith until thou hast it, and then preach faith because thou hast it." More strictly relevant is the account which Edmund Gosse gives of J. H. Shorthouse (*Portraits and Sketches*, p. 160): "In literature, in art, in piety, it was the becoming attitude which Shorthouse valued, not merely for its own sake, but because he believed that it naturally led to sympathy and delicacy, and perhaps—

be the outcome. One relic of this deliberate endeavour after faith has received a quite immoderate amount of attention, and has actually been quoted as if it represented Pascal's permanent position.[1] that is his doctrine of the *Pari*, or wager. He presents the question thus: "Either there is a God or there is not, but we know not to which side to incline. Reasoning can settle nothing here, for an infinite stretch of chaos divides us from the facts, and on the farther side, a game is being played at which either Heads or Tails must turn up. On which are you going to bet? According to *reason* you can bet on neither side, you can defend neither course . . . and yet you are bound to do one thing or the other. So, since you have to choose, you should consider which event touches your interests most closely. . . . Let us balance the gain and the loss: suppose we say Heads, that there is a God. Well, if you are

but this was less essential—to faith itself. . . . He wished that the Agnostic should be persuaded to come to the Sacrament, not that he might testify to a creed which he did not share, but that 'some effect of sympathy, some magic chord and thrill of sweetness should mollify and refresh his heart.'"

[1] Brunschvigg (*Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 257) takes this argument as subsequent in origin to P.'s conversion and Boutroux (*Pascal*, p. 72, fancies that it was in this way Pascal established to his own reason "the reality of the supernatural light which had appeared to him"; but for many reasons this view must be rejected. Pascal himself describes the argument (III. 233) as directed not to himself but to others. He says (IV. 262) that on intelligent men one may press faith by way of reasoning, pending the operation of God on the heart; but his own faith, as disclosed in the *Amulet*, was characterized by Certitude, arrived at by way of the heart, and needing no such confirmation.

right, you gain everything; if you lose, you lose nothing. So I say, put your money there, and without hesitation." [1] The argument, in varying forms, has commended itself to the most diverse types of intelligence. In Plutarch,[2] a speaker says in defence of vegetarianism: "You do not believe that in beasts and fishes dwells the mind that once was a man's? . . . Well, great men have believed it; so maintain your own opinion but keep the matter open. If it is true, then to have abstained from animal food will be innocence; if it is false, it will still be frugality." George Borrow,[3] admitting that the pleas for or against a future existence appear to be evenly balanced, adds: "I then thought that it was at all events taking the safest part to conclude that there was a soul. It would be a terrible thing, after having passed one's life in the disbelief of the existence of a soul, to wake up after death, and find oneself a lost soul. Yes, methought I would come to the conclusion that one has a soul." Brunschvigg[4] quotes an interesting passage from Arnobius, in which he maintains that "the reasonable course to follow between two alternatives is to choose that which gives us reason for hoping rather than that which offers nothing. On the one side, if this Judgment which has been proclaimed to us as near should never come, we should be none the worse for believing in it; whereas, if when the time comes, it should prove that those who spoke thus, though we refused

[1] *Pensées*, III. 233.
[2] *De esu carnium.*
[3] *Romany Rye*, chap. XII.
[4] *Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 438 note.

them credence, were not deceivers, our loss would be enormous, the very loss of salvation." Towards the end of the *Analogy* [1] Butler lays it down that as "religion is a practical thing," the practical question is not "whether the evidence for religion be satisfactory," but whether it is such as would "make the faculty within us, which is the guide and judge of conduct, determine that a certain course of action is prudent." An argument, which spontaneously appears in so many quarters, must be assumed to have a certain cogency; but as it is so frequently laid at Pascal's door, it is interesting to see how little he really looked for from it. A Scottish Calvinist of the older fashion was convinced that no preaching or appeals could hasten by an hour the course by which God's grace would find out the son or daughter, for whose good he prayed; and yet he stoutly took his children wherever an arresting preacher was to be heard. They were at least in the way of good, if it should please God to bestow it; and Pascal claimed no more for his argument than this: "If my discourse pleases you and appears to have something in it," he says,[2] "I should like you to know that it is the work of a man who went to his knees before

[1] *Analogy*, chap. VIII.; cf. Butler's *Charge to the Clergy of Durham*, 1751 (p. 272), where he suggests that even if the evidence of religion went no further than to produce a mood of suspense of mind, yet the infinite importance of religion should give it "nearly the same influence upon practice as if it were thoroughly believed. For would it not be madness for a man to forsake a safe road, and prefer to it one in which he acknowledges there is an even chance of losing his life and of getting safe through."

[2] *Pensées*, III. 233.

he wrote it and after, to entreat that the Infinite God, to whom he is submitted in everything, would also submit to Himself your life, for your welfare and for His glory." That is solemn and reverent; but a few pages later, he declares his whole mind upon the matter:[1] "Those to whom God has brought religion home by way of feeling and the heart are happy indeed, and they have a right to their convictions. But to those who are without religion, we can give it only by way of reasoning, whilst we wait until God give it them by way of feeling and the heart; for without that, it is only a man's faith, and it is of no avail for salvation." The faith which saves is not attained through any such frigid calculations of self-interest, but by the opening of the eyes to see Jesus, and the widening of the heart to receive Him and to recognize His claim. "The mind has its own order,[2] which is by axiom and demonstration, and the heart has its order . . . Jesus Christ and St. Paul use the order of love not of the mind, for their desire is not to instruct but to inflame." That assertion is backed by experience. "The object of faith," says Robert Barclay (*Apology*, p. 34), "is *Deus loquens*—God speaking," but God's voice quickens something more than the auditory nerve; and just as, in some Galilean towns, Jesus could do no mighty works because of the people's unbelief, so God cannot speak, or His speaking cannot be heard where souls are stunted and preoccupied. Whoever is with lasting benefit to hear must first, by the intervention of God, become a larger and nobler

[1] *Pensées*, IV. 282. [2] *Ibid.*, 283.

person, capable of understanding nobler things. "The mind," says Luther,[1] "pronounces with infallible certainty that 3 + 7 = 10, and yet can give no reason why this is true." But an imbecile cannot so pronounce, and no teaching may bring him to that point; for without demonstration, to see even so much, is a mark of attainment in intelligence. And Samuel Butler, in his jeering book,[2] makes a very pertinent addition to Luther's maxim: "It is only the very great and good who have any living faith in the simplest axioms; and there are few who are so holy as to feel that 19 and 13 make 32, as certainly as that 2 and 2 make 4." A man of really arithmetical mind finds no difference between the two propositions; the one is absolutely as obvious as the other; but his wife needs to work the sum on paper, and does it twice for fear she has made a mistake. The way to confident faith is by seeing; but a man *sees* always on the level of his nature. If he has risen high enough he cannot help seeing, and he cannot help being persuaded that he sees. It only needs further to be said that as this method of knowledge by way of vision or the heart is a rational method [as Paul calls it (I Cor. 2 [6]) a "wisdom for full-grown men"], it is in no way incompatible with other rational activities. "The heart [3] feels that there are three dimensions of space, and afterwards the reasoning faculty demonstrates that there are no two square numbers of which the one is double the other. First principles are matter of direct perception, whilst

[1] *Primary Works*, p. 392.
[2] *Erewhon*, p. 203.
[3] *Pensées*, IV. 282.

propositions which follow on these are matter of argument and inference." And Anselm,[1] making the same distinction in matters of faith, has said: "It is surely a failure in reasonable conduct that one who has been established in faith should not seek to understand what he believes." What is granted by the vision of the heart is of the nature of knowledge, and thus it can lead us to further and fuller knowledge.

This view of the initial experience has in recent years been challenged by the energetic Ritschlian school of theologians. They are terribly in dread of Mysticism, or anything that would take a man apart into private relations with God, so they insist that the so-called mystical experiences give men nothing which can be regarded as Christian knowledge, that is to say, no real knowledge of Jesus Christ. "As a monk, Luther, like his fellows, crept into a corner," says Herrmann,[2] "and thought that God would work for him 'something all his own.' Later he came to see that, though some people claim to hear a secret voice and a revelation, the Christian hears the speech of his God in facts that speak plainly to all men." By overpressing the contrast in this way, Herrmann does less than justice to his own understanding of spiritual facts, for he is ready,[3] with Augustine, to

[1] "Negligentia mihi videtur si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere."

[2] *Communion with God*, p. 145.

[3] P. 166: "We take this attitude although we hold with Luther that God means 'to care for each soul separately, as though there were only the one soul, and no other on earth besides.'"

confess that God cares for each soul separately as if there were no other on the earth. No doubt, there is an exaggerated Mysticism, which talks as if life could all be rounded off and completed in the bare relation of the alone with the Alone, whereas the loftiest experiences of all may come through the medium of a proclamation of the Gospel in which there is nothing exclusive, and which only requires a personal appropriation. But this is required. It is not enough that the Church should believe; a Christian man's attitude is expressible not as *Credendum est* but in a simple and personal *Credo*. James Smetham [1] relates how in some book he read, "the setting forth of redemption so quietly and soothingly suited my soul, strengthening me for work and enjoyment; *and I rode high on the white horse of salvation.*" There a man was caught away into the secrets where he saw God with his soul; but there was nothing exclusive at the outset. His name was not inserted in the promise until he himself put it there.

This Ritschlian shyness of what is mystical is largely due to a misconception of Mysticism itself, or rather to the confusing of one specially Oriental type of it with the whole range of experience which is covered by the word. Herrmann [2] alleges that when the mystical exaltation reaches its climax "everything but the Ineffable is lost," and specially that Jesus disappears. "Dante thought that in the moment of most exalted vision in Paradise he beheld three empty circles. This was a powerful

[1] *Letters*, p. 306. [2] *Communion with God*, p. 29.

expression for the thought that religious exaltation comes to its climax in the Ineffable. . . . But an empty circle and the personal life of Christ are things as different as can be." It scarcely needs to be said that there is a Mysticism of this kind. Dr. Edward Caird [1] says that "in the ascent to the Divine Unity, the mystic loses hold of everything by which he could characterize it, and when he arrives at it, it is with empty hands." "I appeal to your individual experience," says Emerson; [2] "in the moment when you make the least petition to God . . . do you not in the very act exclude all other beings from your thought? In that act, the soul stands alone with God, and Jesus is no more present to your mind than your brother or your child." Dr. Inge quotes [3] from Meister Eckhart the direction: "Thou shalt love God as He is, a non-God, a non-Spirit, a non-Person, a non-Form: He is absolute bare Unity." And Clement of Alexandria [4] seems to approach God in the same way: "We know not what He is but what He is not. He has absolutely no predicates, no genus, no differentia, no species. He is formless and nameless, and though we sometimes give Him titles, they are not to be taken in the ordinary sense." A much greater man than Clement exhibits in his Confessions the same type of formless apprehension. In one famous passage,[5]

[1] *Evolution of Theology in Greek Philosophy*, II., p. 215.
[2] IV. 12.
[3] *Christian Mysticism*, p. 160.
[4] Quoted by Dr. Hodgkin, *The Trial of Faith*, p. 193.
[5] *Confessions*, Bk. VII., cap. 17.

Augustine speaks of himself as "attaining with the flash of one hurried glance to the vision of *That which is.*" Nothing, it seems, could safely be affirmed of God in that moment except His existence; He has no character, no attributes, and those who come to His presence are conscious of nothing but His infinite Being. Even in the immortal scene at Ostia [1] the same defect appears. He and his mother, hand in hand, "climbed by the staircase of the spirit, thinking and speaking of Thee," and as they "talked and yearned after it, they touched it for an instant with the whole force of their hearts." There the man Christ Jesus has disappeared, and the experience, however sublime, is in no sense strictly Christian; and if this were the whole of Mysticism, Herrmann's protest would be justified. But it is not the whole; it is Mysticism bleached and impoverished by Asiatic influences [2] which found their way into Christian thought through Alexandria. This tendency appears already in the Old Testament where indefiniteness is almost the mark of a vision of God; men's terror would not suffer them to look, and all that they were conscious of was a dazzling Brightness without features. When Manoah presses the angel of

[1] Bk. IX., cap. 10.

[2] So Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 15, also p. 149: "Prof. Karl Pearson says: 'The mysticism of Eckhart owes its leading ideas to Averroes.'" Dr. Bigg, in his edition of the *Confessions* (p. 245): "The whole of this passage (Bk. VII. 17) is coloured by reminiscences of Plotinus." Prof. Oman (*The Church and the Divine Order*, p. 169) insists on the strictly Neoplatonic character of the passage, and "the abiding and possibly the increasing influence of Neoplatonism in his thinking."

the Lord for his name, he is answered : " Why askest thou of my name, seeing it is secret ? " As soon as Isaiah began to see (6 [4]), " the house was filled with smoke," and the vision was obscured. Ezekiel, in shy ways, would like to push the matter further and give God human affinities (e.g. 1 [8] : so 1 [10]—the forward looking face in the cherubim is the man's face, not the lion's or the eagle's) ; but again and again the feeling recurs in him that human words are inapplicable, and at his boldest he can only say, " upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man " (1 [26]). That is enormously in advance of Clement or of Eckhart, but it falls at least as far short of what Jesus made possible for His friends ; and the growing disuse of the name Jehovah, the personal name of the Covenant God, which appears in the centuries before Christ, seems to mark an increasing sense of His remoteness. " God becomes paler, duller, remoter," says Hollmann,[1] speaking with at least a measure of justification. Samuel Johnson objects to the detail in Shakespeare's description of Dover Cliff, on the ground that in order to impress the mind with the idea of immense height, it " should be all vacuum " ; and that, certainly, is the conception of the Divine which governs the Oriental and the pre-Christian Mysticism ; it is " all vacuum." But as soon as Jesus came, the Word made flesh, God visible and apprehensible to sinful men, a new Mysticism begins to appear. Men grow bolder in

[1] " Welche Religion hatten die Juden, als Jesus auftrat ? " *Volksbücher*, p. 27.

their looking, and even at the height of rapturous exaltation, Jesus their Master does not disappear. Herrmann [1] indeed affirms that "the Christ as conceived in the dogma and practice of Roman Catholicism cannot be taken in with the soul into the innermost experiences of the religious life. . . . When this kind of Christianity attains its goal, it becomes non-Christian." It is difficult to determine how much is covered by the phrase—"the Christ as conceived in the dogma and practice of Roman Catholicism"; does it only cover what is *exclusively* Roman? or does it include the range of doctrine in the great Creeds? I think, at least there is evidence that the Christ as conceived in the common belief both of Roman and Protestant can be "taken in with the soul into the innermost experiences." The Lord whom John saw in mystical trance (Rev. 1) was none other than Jesus, and the details by which the picture is enriched are part historical and part dogmatic, but all are significant. Jesus, divinely bright, is vested there as priest, and engaged in the inner service of God's Temple, keeping the lamps alight. That in germ contains the whole future development of doctrine, and it was not lost as the spirit soared; whilst of another vision John records that, in the midst of the throne, he saw "a Lamb as it had been slain." Dr. Inge [2] reports of that great mystic—Juliana of Norwich—that "the crucified Christ is the one object of her devotion. She refused to listen to a voice which said: 'Look

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 28.
[2] *Christian Mysticism*, p. 202.

up to heaven to His Father' . . . 'I cared for none other heaven than Jesus, which shall be my bliss when I come there.'" Madame Périer,[1] summarizing her brother Pascal's opinion, says: "The Christian man's God is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, a God of love and consolation. . . . He is not simply God, He is a God who restores (*un Dieu réparateur*)." The accuracy of that summary is established beyond question by the "Amulet" itself. Like Augustine, in a flash of trembling vision (*ictu trepidantis aspectus* [2]) Pascal had attained to the sight of God, and his life had been transformed; but what he saw was not bare being, it was character, it was mercy, it was individualizing friendship. In that we have travelled far from Eckhart and Clement and Augustine, with their God devoid of predicates, but we have not left the kingdom of the true Mysticism. And Dante,[3] in the very passage which Herrmann complains of, shares in that Christian discovery. His first dazzled impression, as he describes it, was of light and nothing else—"three Circles of three colours and one magnitude; one by the second seemed reflected, and the third seemed a fire breathed equally from one and from the other." But when that second Circle was more closely scanned, Dante saw that "in itself, of its own colour, it seemed to be painted with our effigy; and thereat my sight was all com-

[1] *Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 20.

[2] *Confessions*, VII. 17.

[3] *Paradiso*, XXXIII. 115 *seq.* (Temple edition); cf. Symonds, *Study of Dante*, p. 194.

mitted to it," and "the Love which moves the sun and the other stars" took hold of his desire and will, and sent them smoothly on their course. That is to say,—the vision reached its height and became controlling in his life, when instead of the "three empty Circles" of the older and baser Mysticism, he saw the Image of Jesus Christ. "It was a mark of the old Eastern initiations, as it still is a mark of the grades and planes of our theosophic thinkers, that as a man climbs higher and higher, God becomes to him more and more formless, ethereal, and even thin." [1] But Christianity, which is neither of East nor West, confronts the Oriental with its resolute assertion of personality; and in the Christian Mysticism of which Paul was the great originator, the image of Jesus Christ, the Son of man, retains the central place.

In this Epistle Paul lays such stress upon the direct apprehension of God when "He ceases to be an object and becomes an experience," that I have thought it well to examine such experiences and consider what they mean. At the outset of his new career, Paul, in a flash of sudden intuition, saw Jesus Christ, a recognizable Figure, and through Him he saw God Himself. That left him with an unalterable persuasion. Many things might pass, and indeed the whole world must often have seemed to him like a dance of shadows; but this could never pass. It became the standard by which he tried both truth and life; it gave him the message which he everywhere with joy proclaimed. It mattered

[1] G. K. Chesterton's *Blake*, p. 209.

not what other men affirmed as the result of investigation or inference; here his feet were planted. Knowing with certainty that he *had* seen, he was bold to confront the authority of any tradition, however high or sacred that might be.

CHAPTER IV

IS THERE A COMMON FAITH?

"Before I got thus far out of these my temptations, I did greatly long to see some ancient godly man's experience who had writ some hundreds of years before I was born."

—JOHN BUNYAN.

WHEN a man comes to the knowledge of Jesus Christ as Paul did, not by any laborious process of argument but by a swifter operation of the mind, he does not need to seek about for confirmations. So far as he is himself concerned, and so long as the power of the vision holds him, he is possessed by a certainty which is complete. In Emerson's phrase, "the contradiction of all mankind cannot shake it, and the consent of all mankind cannot confirm it." "Whatever I feel, I feel beyond all doubt," says Professor Jevons.[1] "If I see blue sky, I may be quite sure that I do experience the sensation of blueness. We are very likely to confuse what we feel with what we associate with it or infer from it; but the whole of our consciousness, so far as it is the result of pure intuition and free from inference, is certain knowledge beyond all doubt." And yet to every man there come changes

[1] *Principles of Science*, I, 271.

of mood. Courage flags and the mists come down; and specially, the burden of the surrounding indifference may press upon him. He is convinced that he did see, but why is he alone in seeing? It is very well for Luther [1] to compare the simplicity of his own conviction to the straightforward sense that 3 and 7 make 10, as if there were no possible room for debate. But one uncomfortable difference obtrudes itself; for in the arithmetical case, everybody who is not an imbecile or a savage arrives at the same result, whilst in the spiritual a man may make the damping discovery that he is quite alone in his conclusion. Dr. Dale [2] confesses that he sometimes wondered whether he should be sure that his own perception of the sun and stars was trustworthy, if he were alone in seeing them. . . . "For myself, when I actually saw the sun rising morning after morning, and ascending the meridian, and when I actually saw the constellations glittering in the heavens at night, the conviction of their reality would be irresistible; and yet side by side with this conviction there would be doubt—doubt mastered and suppressed but with life in it still, and certain to grow large and strong if for many weeks brooding clouds concealed the celestial glories. But if, here and there, another man came to see what I saw, and by degrees, groups of men; if, by a surprising discovery of a lost literature, it became certain that the poets of a vanished people had sung of the stars and the sunrise and the sunset, and their

[1] *Primary Works*, p. 392.
[2] *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels*, p. 28.

sailors had steered their course by them, I should become sure of myself, and all doubt would vanish. So the knowledge that other men, as the result of their appeal to Christ, have passed into a diviner world, have received accessions of strength, . . . have seen evil passions wither, while it adds nothing to the distinction or power of similar experiences of my own, relieves me from the doubt which would worry my faith, if my experience were solitary and unique." Paul was little troubled by such fantastic bewilderments, for he knew Whom he had believed ; and yet he did welcome confirmation when it came, because it served to enrich his thought of Jesus Christ, and thus might make his ministry more widely efficacious.

There is an excellent French saying that " when a man is right he is much more right than he thinks." He has arrived at his conclusion along some line which was suggested by previous study or by his temperament ; but when he finds that there are considerations influencing other men which had not occurred to him, he feels that the truth is even more widely and convincingly evident than he had supposed. Emerson[1] reports that in some New England towns before the Civil War, " every man was an Abolitionist by conviction, but he did not believe that his neighbour was. The opinions of masses of men, which the tactics of primary caucuses and the proverbial timidity of trade had concealed, were discovered by the War, and it was found, contrary to all popular belief, that the country

[1] IV. 294, " Address at the Dedication of the Soldiers' Monument in Concord."

was at heart Abolitionist, and for the Union was ready to die." The discovery of such agreement in opinion does not change belief, but it may give it a different quality. Galileo, with every one against him, might doggedly mutter, "And yet it does move," for his conviction was independent of the crowd; but if people whose judgment he valued had one by one come to his side, and if each new convert had arrived at his conclusion by observations and reflections of his own, the conviction would at least have been more triumphantly entertained. We are social creatures, made to drink at the overflowing cup of our fellow-men;[1] and wise guides of souls have always discouraged solitary brooding, and by bringing soul in contact with soul have sought to kindle and maintain the fires of faith. Without disparagement of the swift certainties of the individual heart, there is a distinct place for conference and comparison, if dejection is to be avoided and progress is to be made. In his own faith Paul was most enviably free from the shadow of distrust; he never betrays any question either of the truth of his convictions or of their adequacy. Twice over in this Epistle (2 [5, 14]) he sets forward his own view of the matter in dispute as "the truth of the Gospel." But resolute and

[1] Stearns, *The Evidence of Christian Experience*, p. 118: "That is the ground of the diffusion of sin through the race, as the result of which each sinner, though not without his personal fault, becomes himself a sinner; and it accords with the fitness of things that redemption should avail itself of the same relation to accomplish its beneficent ends."

even imperious as he was, he never forgot his responsibility for the men and women committed to his care; and when he came upon people to whom, in his own phrase, he "was not an apostle," the question thrust itself upon him if he might not be "running in vain" (2 [2]). For years he had not visited Jerusalem; and in the Churches of Syria and Cilicia, since most of the members were probably his own converts, he would be confronted at every turn by small imitations of his own habits and expressions—an experience which is never palatable to a man of large nature, and certainly is not enriching. So after eleven years of absence, he caught at an occasion for breaking out of this charmed circle and comparing his own results with those of men of a different training. "Before I got thus far out of these my temptations," writes Bunyan,[1] "I did greatly long to see some ancient godly man's experience, who had writ some hundreds of years before I was born. . . . This man could not know anything of the state of Christians now, but must needs write and speak the experience of former days." Bunyan discovered what he sought in Luther's "Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians"; and Paul gained something of the same advantage by journeying to Jerusalem, and hearing what the Eleven had discovered in the Lord, for they had come at their belief in ways less violent and dramatic than his.

If we accept his own account, it was not to any formal Council that he told his story, with diplo-

[1] *Grace Abounding*, p. 333.

matic speeches made by leading men, such as Luke has outlined [1] (Acts 15). He made his statement, as he tells, to the three men to whom he was most glad to listen. If others were present, they were thrust in (*παρείσακτοι*) for a mean purpose by an irreconcilable faction, who feared that the Apostles might sell the pass. The result of this interview was to Paul entirely consoling, for it appeared that in making, or, at least, in proving his doctrine as he went along, he had not strayed from the common teaching. Many details were clear to him which, to the others, were vague and hazy, for he had an infinitely keener mind, and he had enjoyed a different education. "But these men of reputation added nothing to me," he reports (2 [6, 7]). "On the contrary, recognizing that I have been (and still am) entrusted [2] with the Gospel for the heathen world, even as Peter is with the Gospel for the Jews (for God, who wrought in Peter fitting him for his Jewish apostolate, wrought also in me, fitting me for the heathen), James and Cephas and John, who stood up like pillars in the Church, gave to me and Barnabas the pledges of fellowship." Such a recognition was more than a sullen consent to give a wilful man his way, it was an acknowledgment

[1] The private interview may, as Godet and others suggest, have preceded the Council. It is more probable, in view of Paul's silence, that he was not present at the Council, and only learned of its decisions later (Acts 21 [25]). See pp. 48–9.

[2] *πεπίστευμαι*: "The perfect, implying a permanent commission, contrasts with the aorist in Rom. 3 [2]," referring to a commission which might be and was withdrawn; so Lightfoot, p. 109.

that the one ministry was of God as truly as the other. In 1 [23], Paul records that "the Churches of Judæa glorified God, because he who, the other day, was persecuting us, is now preaching the faith which so recently he was destroying." It was the one faith, theirs and his. And this agreement becomes still more articulate in Paul's stormy appeal to Peter (2 [16]): "We who by birth are Jews, and not 'sinners,' as we used to call the Gentiles, know that a man is not justified by works done in obedience to a law, but by such faith as Christ Jesus supplies; we put our trust in Christ Jesus that by this faith we might be justified and not by works of obedience, for by works of that kind there is no justification for any man." The whole force of that appeal depends on the identity of opinion in the two Apostles; it is taken for granted that Peter not only was a Christian, but a Christian of an almost Pauline type. There has never been a great thinker more heedless of merely speculative questions than Paul, or one more reverent of the solidity of a fact. And this, he explains, is what happened: I had lived apart at my work, thinking my thoughts, and hearkening to the Master's voice. Where the Eleven stood, or how they shaped their message, I had not cared to ask; but when we came together, they and I, we found ourselves at one. Such a narrative is fitted to raise questions, of which the two most important concern *the power of the individual soul to find its own way*, and *the extent or the content of this agreement at which Paul and the Eleven had arrived.*

I. *As to the power of the individual soul.* Is it actually true that a man, left to himself, might be trusted to find his way to the common faith? The idea is tempting but surely it is audacious. Mr. Walter Bagehot [1] speaks of an "old philosopher," who "fancied that out of primitive truths which he could by ardent excogitation know, he might by pure deduction evolve the entire universe. Intense self-examination and intense reason would, he thought, make out everything. The soul 'itself by itself,' could tell all it wanted if it would be true to its sublimer isolation. The greatest enjoyment possible to man was that which this philosophy promises to its votaries—the pleasure of being always right and always reasoning—without ever being bound to look at anything." That is a type of philosophizing which used to be the object of somewhat easy jeering, for it seemed to practical Englishmen preposterous that a man should claim to be able to construct a universe out of his inner consciousness, much as a spider spins its web. If less is now heard of the gibe, it is partly because there is less of that daring activity of the intellect; but even in an age which has given a welcome to Pragmatism, it may surely be allowed that there is something magnificent in so enormous a claim for the unassisted human mind. After one crowded hour of experience, Paul is seen resolutely turning his back upon those who might have instructed him, and going out by himself to meditate and to preach. For himself, he must compare what his

[1] *English Constitution*, VII.

vision had given him with what the Old Testament had promised, and what the needs of his own life required. He must mark its effect in himself and in those to whom he spoke of it, and thus, with materials lying to his hand, he must piece together the framework of a system. But in such a record of the process there are two huge omissions, which Paul would have been quick to remark. *In the first place,* no account is taken there of the activity of another Mind. Paul had come face to face with the true Teacher, and henceforth had lived in His society. It was not his soul, "itself by itself," which had accomplished great things. *Solus cum Solo*—alone with the Alone, listening while his Master talked, and bending his pride to accept His instruction, it was so he had occupied these years; could it be reckoned marvellous that he now should know the way? Dr. Dale [1] reverently suggests that, if the Gospels disappeared, though the loss would be immeasurable, yet all would not be lost. "For the experience of the Church would remain to bear witness to Christ's power to redeem men of every country and every age and every race, who trust in Him for redemption. It would still be certain that men of every description have discovered that, when they speak to Christ, they do not speak into the air, but that He answers them, gives them peace of conscience, strength for suffering and for righteousness, and the immediate knowledge of God." We have the Gospels in our hands, and all that confronts us in the Church is interpreted by their story. But

[1] *The Living Christ,* etc., pp. 40–1.

before our eyes, we see another Gospel being written ; and just as a man is revealed in the quality of his work, so Jesus Christ from day to day is seen, acting and enduring like Himself, recognizable and unique. The witness of experience is full of energies and activities in the soul which are not self-derived, but which mark the entrance of a Stronger than the Strong Man. " If the Tempter should persuade a man to doubt whether the Gospel be true," says Richard Baxter,[1] " he may have recourse into his soul for a testimony of it, for thence he can tell the Tempter by experience that he hath found the promises of the Gospel made good to him. Christ hath there promised to send His Spirit into the souls of His people, and so hath He done to me ; He hath promised to give light to them that sit in darkness, to bind up the broken-hearted and set at liberty the captives, and all this He hath fulfilled upon me. . . . The helps which He hath promised in temptations, the hearing of prayer, the relief in distress, all these I have found performed, and thus I know that the Gospel is true." These sentences, in concrete and moving phrase, embody the Reformation doctrine of " the testimony of the Holy Spirit," [2] which is

[1] Quoted by Stearns, p. 394.

[2] Calvin, *Institutes*, I, VII. 4 : " For as God alone can properly bear witness to His own words, so these words will not obtain full credit in the hearts of men until they are sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit " ; Luther (quoted by Barclay, *Apology*, p. 23) : " No man can rightly know God, or understand the word of God, unless he immediately receive it from the Holy Spirit ; neither can anyone receive it from the Holy Spirit except he find it by experience in

not a fanatical assertion of immediate revelations such as would make a man a judge of the world and of Scripture itself. This witness is granted rather by way of confirmation ; for when there are works of God within a man, actual effects to be perceived in his character, he is emboldened by these to set his seal to the word that it is true. " How shall I know that I have the Spirit of Christ ? " asks Baxter, and his answer is, " By the nature of its effects. The Spirit of Christ doth renew the soul to God's image. The Spirit of Christ is no fancy, dream, or delusion, nor worketh an imaginary change on the soul, but a real change, making the soul alive that was dead in sin, and becoming a principle of life within us." The Power is recognized by its effects. When St. Teresa's superiors tried to persuade her that her early visions were delusive, she allowed that she might mistake one person for another. " But if this person left behind him jewels as pledges of his love, and I found myself rich having before been poor, I could not believe, even if I wished, that I had been mistaken. And these jewels I could show them ; for all who knew me saw clearly that my soul was changed ; the difference was great and palpable." [1] The Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, in its customary form, lays stress more on the giving of a message than on the enriching of life, but it never fails in its acknowledgment that the primary

himself ; and in this experience the Holy Ghost teacheth as in His proper school, out of which school nothing is taught but mere talk."

[1] Quoted by Dr. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 220.

activity is of Christ. "I knew not God but by revelation," says Fox[1] himself, "as He who hath the key did open." "I came to my knowledge of Eternal Life," says William Dewsbury, "not by the letter of Scripture, nor from hearing men speak of God, but by the inspiration of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, who is worthy to open the seals." The thought of this active ministry of Christ goes far to transform the scheme of Bagehot's unnamed philosopher, who fancied that "the soul itself by itself could tell all it wanted"; it suggests that passivity of mind may sometimes count for at least as much as activity, and that he who will travel farthest in the way of Divine knowledge is not necessarily the man of most "ardent cogitation," who proceeds by way of pure deduction; it may be the man who submits most humbly to be taught.[2] "I had not the precious

[1] See Glover, *Nature of a Religious Society*, p. 6.

[2] One difficulty which arises is as to the canon or rule by which these inner suggestions may be judged. Barclay (*Apology*, p. 53) allows that, "it is one thing to affirm that the true and undoubted revelation of God's Spirit is infallible, and another thing to affirm that this or that particular person is led infallibly by this revelation in what they speak or write." But how are men to discriminate? As, according to Barclay (p. 67), Scripture is "only a declaration of the fountain, not the fountain itself," and is only "a secondary rule," it cannot give the needed test. Fox (*Journal*, p. 220, ed. 1694) pronounces decisively against James Nayler that he "ran out into imaginations and raised up a great darkness in the nation"; but he gives no hint of the authority by which he, with his Light, was entitled to judge of Nayler with his Light. A modern Friend, Caroline Stephen (*Light Arising*, p. 45), says: "Too often the Light Within seems to be understood as meaning such light as is contained within

faculty," we read in Aylwin, "of being able on occasion to sit, and let the rich waters of life flow over me." And Wordsworth, in his "Expostulation and Reply," lays stress upon the same point :—

> Nor less I deem that there are powers
> Which of themselves our minds impress;
> That we can feed this mind of ours
> In a wise passiveness.

The *second omission* is seen in the failure to take account of the previous contents of the mind. Many people have spoken as if they actually started with blank intelligences, so that the Divine Spirit or their own speculative originality, must account for everything in their conclusions. Paul's own language in some places gives countenance to such a view, as when he says that he "received of the Lord" even the account which he gives of the institution of the Supper (I Cor. 11 [23]). As he looked back on these first days, in which his whole world of thought was transformed, he was prepared to acknowledge no other influence than the One; whatever lips might have uttered the words, it was

my or thy individual experience, rather than as the innermost Central Light whether of the individual or of all life. The teaching of inwardness seems to require, to make it either safe or adequate, the recognition of the *concentric structure* not only of human beings but of humanity and consciousness." There is, that is to say, a common Light which shines, and all men who are at the same nearness to the centre, however far apart they may be upon their circumference, are alike influenced by the Light, and thus are able to correct and supplement each other's view of what it brings. This suggests an interesting limitation of the theory of individualism.

the Lord who gave them. Ananias and the brethren dropped out of view, since they were merely instruments of the goodwill of Jesus who, from afar, had been seeking His servant, and had now laid His hand upon him. In the lofty, transcendental sense, that was true ; but when we are concerned with the shaping of his ideas and the forces which brought him and the Eleven into essential agreement, we must not ignore the human facts and instruments. Paul's mind was far indeed from being a blank in regard to the essential matters at stake. On the day of his conversion, many things began to be seen in a new perspective, but in themselves they were not new ; and any fresh revelation which then was given was interpreted by lessons and ideas familiar since his childhood. One of the most penetrating of our missionary thinkers has said of the Chinese,[1] "It is a complete misunderstanding of history to suppose that, simply with the Bible in their hands, native Christians would speedily find their way to a developed Protestant Christianity. The Bible is no more intelligible to native converts now than it was to saints of the early centuries." If a man is to see what the revelation means, some interpretative knowledge is required ; and in Paul's case that was partly due to his new Christian environment, but partly also to his education in the Jewish Church.

There is more than a touch of *naïveté* in Paul's protestations of complete independence, and anyone who was disposed to cavil might feel that the case, from the first, is given away. Fifteen days

[1] Moody, *The Heathen Heart*, p. 243.

were spent with Peter in Jerusalem, says Paul; and though he went to "*see*" Peter, not to learn of him, yet a fortnight does not pass simply in looking, and a duller man than Paul might, in such a time, have learned, even by hints, all there was to know. The Church seems for the moment to have been scattered, so that Paul remained unknown even by sight to most of its members (1 [22]), and he met with none of the Apostles except Peter and James;[1] but such members as were left would not fail to meet for prayer and the breaking of bread, so that no day could be unfruitful for an eager observer. When Paul left the Capital, it was to work in Syria and Cilicia, where in the Christian gatherings he would listen to the witness of the friends of Christ, into whose minds the thoughts and hopes of the growing Church were streaming from all quarters. That is to say, he was cast not simply upon God and the resources of his own mind, but upon the life of a community which was swiftly making progress in Divine understanding.

These Christian ideas and observations, as they came, were not suffered to lie confusedly in his mind, related to nothing, and thus interpreted by nothing. As an educated man and a thinker he had already his characteristic forms of thought, and certain conceptions of life and God which were common to all devout Hebrews; and the new material, so far as that was possible, would instinc-

[1] As I have elsewhere noted, Luke's information about the Jerusalem Church was very defective, and the passage, Acts 9 [26-30], is not easily harmonized with Paul's express statements.

tively be adjusted to what he thus possessed. The whole Old Testament was a possession, and that zeal for God which marked the nobler Pharisees. With great acuteness and learning Dr. Schechter [1] has furnished evidence that a large part of Christian theology finds its origin, or, at least, its antecedents, in the Rabbinical schools: the strife in a man between the evil principle and the good, and the victory over evil by the grace of God, the powers of repentance and reconcilation, the reality of an imputation both of sin and of righteousness—these were questions which had engaged Paul's thought in his pre-Christian days and they gave him ideas which made the Christian facts at once intelligible. What lies still closer to the heart of theology, there was in existence amongst Jews and Hellenists the material for a doctrine of the Messiah.[2] The great rabbis had discussed the relation in which He should stand to God, the place He should hold amongst the children of men, and the work He would do as deliverer and as judge. Thoughts of all degrees of dignity on this high theme were present in their minds; and as soon as the Messiah was actually discovered in the person of Jesus, the dispersed elements, which had only lacked something to unite them, shot together like crystals about their nucleus. Naturally the Eleven, who had no rabbinical training, knew much less of these preparatory discussions than Paul did, but they could not be wholly ignorant of so vital a part of the religious inheritance, and

[1] *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, passim.*

[2] Joh. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 5.

this knowledge could not fail to contribute to the agreement which Paul reports. It contributed to this, it does not by itself account for it. "Paul is as remote as possible,[1] in his whole way of thinking, from the scholastic theologian, being eminently subjective, psychological, autobiographical in spirit and method." The materials were present in his mind, but so dispersed that they might as well have been absent altogether; and it was the revelation of God's Son within him which enabled him for the first time to see the significance of what he had always known. To ignore the element of revelation would, in Paul's view, have been a much graver error than to ignore the wealth of tradition which helped him to interpret that revelation. Faith in him had been cognitive. By a swifter divination he had penetrated to the meaning of things, and he was rewarded by this confirmation that, having come to his results by a way which was his own, he

[1] Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 26. Schweitzer (*Paulinische Forschungen*, pp. 83–4, etc.) takes exactly the opposite view. He charges it against Holtzmann as "a fault in method" that he is always turning what is objective in Paul into a subjective. The rejection of the Law is to H. the result of an experience, to S. it is a logical conclusion. Paul's doctrine of "the new creature," in H.'s view, is based upon an actual sensation of deliverance, with new powers, motives, tasks, and aims coming from the Risen One. In S.'s view, it is a logical creation, which, outside of a classroom, is incredible. S.'s whole conception of what is objective sadly needs to be enlarged; Robert Barclay (*Apology*, p. 3) speaks of "inward objective manifestations in the heart," by which he means such manifestations as have not their origin in the heart, but come from without and from above.

found himself on the same ground as those who had companied with the Lord in flesh, and received His teaching thus.

In this agreement Paul rejoiced, for he was never disposed to magnify distinctive opinions. Even when he speaks of "my gospel" or "our gospel,"[1] there is little of personal note. In his Letters, personal and individual as they are, he liked to associate other people with himself, as if the testimony were strengthened by their concurrence[2] (so I Cor. 1[1]; II Cor. 1[1]; Gal. 1[1, 2], etc.). He rejoiced in the persuasion that there is a *common* faith. But that must not obscure for us the other fact of his originality and independence; he did not catch at an accepted form of words or a mould of experience and apply it to his own case. Religion, as he regarded it, begins at the beginning; and at the most, it may be said to find confirmation of its own discoveries in the similar conclusions of other men. Paul would never have spoken of the power of the

[1] In Rom. 2[16] he speaks of the coming judgment of men by Jesus Christ "according to my gospel," which was a commonplace of Messianic doctrine before there was a Christian faith (Weiss, *Christus*, p. 18); in Rom. 16[25] he ascribes glory to God, "who is of power to establish you according to my gospel"; II Thess. 2[14] and II Tim. 2[8] offer nothing distinctive; II Cor. 4[3], "if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled in those who are perishing," may conceivably have a more personal quality.

[2] Meyer (*ad.* I John 1[4]): "The plural is here used, because John, as an Apostle, writes in the consciousness that his written word is in full agreement with the preaching of all the Apostles; they all, as it were, speak through him to the readers of the Epistle."

soul to make its own way, for it was not by his own powers of mind that he had made progress; he had not laid hold of the truth but had been laid hold of by it. And the utmost that he could ever claim for himself in the matter was that when he was mastered, he yielded frankly to the control, and gave Christ right of way in his whole nature, so that the Spirit of Christ now taught there as in His proper school. "It is not I that live," he writes, "but Christ who lives in me."

II. The other question which may be raised concerns the extent of the agreement which Paul reports. In clearness and in courage there certainly was difference between Paul and the Eleven; but how far were they in agreement? That is a question of some gravity, as it might lead on to the further question whether, under all diversities of aspect, there is a faith common to all Christians. It scarcely needs to be said that there is not a universal standard of experience.[1] "The wind bloweth where it listeth," said Jesus; and it is not for men to set limits

[1] The admission that no one single type of experience alone is legitimate may be held to imply that no single type of doctrine alone is lawful. A man's idiosyncrasy raises special problems for him, and suggests special conclusions. The freedom of a Christian man contains the freedom to think as God, in experience, has taught him. No Church is warranted or wise in imposing on all minds an elaborate scheme, in which all the details are of equal moment. The Scottish Churches have asked more of their office-bearers than is fitting; but, at least, they have shown their wisdom in asking for adherence to "the whole doctrine of the Confession," i.e., the doctrine *as a whole*, not in its minute detail.

to the gales of the Spirit. Newman [1] confesses that his own conversion contained none of the special evangelical experiences, "the prescribed stages of conviction of sin, terror, despair, news of free and full salvation, joy and peace," and yet "it cut at the root of doubt in me, it provided a chain between God and the soul that is, with every link, complete." Deissmann [2] puts in a plea that "the immediate experience of God is the privilege only of a few conspicuous religious figures . . . so, how many of us scholars can ever adventure the flight which leads to the face of God"? Another scholar of to-day, M. Loisy,[3] exclaims: "How many well-disposed people have none of this direct perception of God! And is the intimate experience from which it is supposed to proceed free from all risk of illusion?" Louis Stevenson describes the attitude of an old Edinburgh gentleman, which is typical of the large and honourable class of people to whom religion is a constant influence, without any sort of shock or crisis marking its development. It sustains them in duty and in reverent submission to all that God may send, but there is nothing to talk about in it or to report. Such people are the strength of our Churches on their institutional side, and yet they are parted by a whole world of feeling from the aggressive evangelical. "A moderate in religion," says Stevenson [4] of his old friend, "he was much struck in the last years of his life by a conversation

[1] Ward's *Life of Newman*, I. 30.
[2] *Paulus*, p. 155.
[3] *Choses Passées*, p. 314.
[4] *Memories and Portraits*, p. 180.

with two young lads, revivalists. 'H'm,' he would say, 'new to me, I have had no such experience.' It struck him not with pain, but with a solemn philosophic interest that he, a Christian as he hoped and a Christian of so old a standing, should hear these young fellows talking of his own subject, his own weapons that he had fought the battle of life with—and not understand." Paul's own maxim in regard to such diversities is that "all things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas"—the experience which springs from a sight of Jesus in His mercy, and that which is inspired by the terrors of an imminent Judgment,[1] as well as the homelier type which is the result of teaching rightly given and lasting over years. These all have a right to exist within the Church, says Paul, because God is in them all. Of those of the Eleven about whom we have information, we may say that there was nothing dramatic in their experience, but a continuous movement of heart which drew them first from the Synagogue to the Baptist, and thence to the Lord Himself, to whom clean souls tend at the last to come. They had no sense of ceasing to be Jews or of adventuring any new thing; under the Master's teaching and in fellowship with one another they had travelled further than they knew. But Paul came by a path opened for him by an earthquake,

[1] Apparently on the ground that he came from Alexandria and was eloquent, people have commonly thought of Apollos as a philosophic thinker; but he "knew only the baptism of John," and it is safer to think of him as hurrying on, in John's spirit, to the consummation.

amid sharp antagonisms and rejections. He knew better than they where he was going, but he came to the same end.

Before exploring more in detail this world of deep-lying consents, it may be useful to throw together some general descriptions of what Christianity implies, taken from modern scholars of different schools. "Christians are fully agreed as to what personal Christianity means," says Herrmann.[1] "It is a communion of soul with the living God through the mediation of Christ. That includes everything that is characteristic." "If we review all the men and women of the West since Augustine's time whom history has designated as eminent Christians, we have always the same type," says Harnack:[2] "we find marked conviction of sin, complete renunciation of their own strength, and trust in the grace of a personal God who is apprehended as merciful through the condescension of Christ. The variations of this frame of mind are innumerable, but the fundamental type is the same . . . preached by pious Romans and by Evangelicals alike." "Before Paul, people had experienced redemption but not described it," says Wernle[3]: "Jesus raised His disciples to be children of God without a word being heard about redemption. Through Him they had become strong in hope, victorious in doing what is good, free from trouble about sin, free from the world and its cares—ay and from the fear of death,

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 7.
[2] *Hist. of Dogma*, v. 74 (Eng. trans.).
[3] *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 176.

true sons of God who together lived with God as their Father." "At the entrance of the Christian life," says Dr. Stearns,[1] "the first and essential fact which meets us is that the initiative is known as coming from God. . . . He comes with the arraignment, the demand, the offer and the promise of the Gospel." A great English teacher, Mr. P. H. Wicksteed,[2] describes "the Christian attitude as characterized by a belief in the redeeming power of love and the immeasurable worth of every human soul, by a sense of the personal pollution of sin, and a belief that peace and joy are to be found only in the personal consecration of the life to God." Amongst these there are marked differences and defects, but certain elements are common. There is the acknowledgment of demerit and weakness, the recognition that, in spite of demerit, God has actually come to help men, and there is the surrender to Him of self in a life of trust and service. In these things the Church is at one. "The mystical body of Christ is so truly one," says Dr. Rendel Harris,[3] "not only at any given time but at all times, that one who is a disciple indeed is, if one may say so, all disciples in one. He has left nets with the Zebedees, and custom-houses with St. Matthew; his tears have flowed into the channels of the Magdalene's, and so have reached the sacred feet of our Lord. . . . He is in all crosses and pains of saints that suffer, and a partaker of all glories, and he wears all crowns." Diversity is of the surface, but

[1] *The Evidence of Christian Experience*, p. 112.
[2] *Studies in Theology*, p. 94.
[3] *Union with God*, p. 8.

if one goes deep enough there is, at least, the beginning of agreement.

It may be observed that these various dicta describe an attitude of mind rather than a body of opinion; and yet it is clear that such an attitude would tend to find expression in doctrinal forms, and in any exploration of doctrinal origins it is an attitude of mind and heart which is discovered at the source. Dean Milman,[1] for example, says of the theology of Augustine that it "was already deeply rooted in *the awe-struck piety of the Christian world*. . . . It was not a remote supremacy, a government through unseen and untraceable influences, which gave satisfaction to the agitated spirit, but an actually felt and immediate presence operating on each particular part of the creation, not a regular and unvarying emanation of the divine will but a special and peculiar intervention in each separate case." "What has been called the doctrine of justification by faith," says Principal Lindsay,[2] "is rather the description of a religious experience within the believer." "Doctrine," says Newman,[3] "is the voice of a religious body, its principles are of its substance. The principles may be turned into doctrines by being defined; but they live as necessities before definition, and are the less likely to be defined because they are so essential to life." There are many degrees and stages in the process by which individuals, or the whole Church, are enabled to

[1] *History of Christianity*, III. 174.
[2] *History of the Reformation*, I. 447.
[3] *Ward's Life*, II. 234.

realize what has come into their possession ; and if, at any moment, attention were paid to the words they use, there might appear to be not agreement but dissonance. In every Christian heart there are fragments of express doctrine due to the man's special training or surroundings ; but there are also present in him masses of devout feeling, not yet articulated into doctrine ; [1] and in virtue of these, he may find himself in cordial inward sympathy with those whose definite opinions he detests. That deeper feeling is the real hope of the Church, for some day, it may shape itself into a faith worthier and more inclusive in which the divided Church may find a lasting peace. At his mother's knee Luther had learned, in substance, much of what he afterwards proclaimed ; Staupitz and some unknown

[1] In this sense there is a *fides implicita* which belongs to any true piety. Beyond what she expressly declares, the Church has in her soul apprehensions, desires, submissions in presence of the wonderfulness of God and of salvation ; and many wise and devout men might share in Pusey's last confession of faith (Russell's *Life of Pusey*, p. 147), " I die in the faith of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, believing *explicité* all which I know Almighty God to have revealed in her, and *implicité* everything which he may have revealed in her, which I may not know." Unfortunately the Church has another fringe of things indefinite—of misapprehensions and delusions, and these also take shape from time to time ; so to believe all that the Church, at any time, may teach is not piety, it is the surrender of mind and soul, for the Church often teaches wrongly. It is of this unquestioning attitude that Milton says, in the " Areopagitica," " there be of Protestants and professors who live and die in as arrant an implicit faith as any lay Papist of Loretto." See, by way of example, Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, p. 247.

monks in Erfurt, who lived and died in the Roman Church, offered to him in his agony consolations which were wholly evangelical. Of the Church Fathers, Luther [1] confessed that "though they said nothing decisive about justification by grace, yet at their death they believed in it. These worthy Fathers lived better than they wrote." Their attitude of mind towards God and His Son implied much more than they had been able explicitly to declare; they had "the awe-struck piety," the look of the heart towards Christ the Crucified which is the essential element in faith; and thus it might have been predicted of them that some day, when they or their successors [2] (and the Church in all the generations is one) came to speak of the grounds of their justification, everything would be attributed to God, and everything be received by faith, which is what our evangelical doctrine proclaims.

When Paul compared his own message with the preaching of the Apostolic Church, he was really bringing together two stages in this process. In them and in him the feeling towards Christ was the same. In the estimation of them all, He was the

[1] Michelet's *Life*, p. 274; cf. Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, p. 101, "the Greek theologians had not a clear conception of the doctrine of Justification."

[2] Taylor Innes's *John Knox*, p. 95: "The Confession presented to the Parliament of 1560 was one of a group which sprang, as if from the soil, in almost every country in Europe. They had a strong family likeness, not because one imitated the other. They were honest attempts made to represent the impression made on that age by the newly discovered Scriptures, and that impression was everywhere the same, at least to begin with."

First and the Last; but Paul had begun to find words, whilst they remained inarticulate. The conditions of his experience and the habit of his mind had hastened the maturing of his thought, so that he understood where they were content vaguely to feel. But heart speaks to heart and in what he said the "pillar" Apostles recognized what they felt although they could not yet say it. They had experienced redemption though they had not described it; and their preaching was so coloured and kindled by the experience that they could not think Paul wrong, and "they added nothing to him." In many quarters we may find instances more or less parallel, where the heart seems to have anticipated the understanding, to have known something before it was clearly proclaimed. Augustine [1] is very bold in saying that "what is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients, and never did not exist from the planting of the human race until Christ came in the flesh." More naïvely, the Red Indians told John Eliot [2] that "their forefathers knew God, but that after this, they fell into a deep sleep, and when they awoke they quite forgot Him." And in regions nearer home, in seemingly dead Churches, we have records of a sudden poignancy of impression. Words which had always been familiar and always unconsidered have suddenly revealed their

[1] Quoted by Emerson, IV. 329.

[2] Emerson, IV. 31; Warneck, *Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 148: "The heathen often assent emphatically to the decalogue when it is announced to them. We missionaries often enough hear them say, 'We knew all that long ago from our fathers.'"

tremendous significance ; men had never avowed to themselves what these things meant, but, in the depth of their being, they knew, and thus the transformation was prompt and thorough. "One Sunday morning," says a historian,[1] "as Daniel Rowlands was reading the litany in Llangeitho Church, a great wave of spiritual emotion rolled over the worshippers when he repeated the words, 'By Thine agony and bloody sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, by Thy precious death and burial, by Thy glorious resurrection and ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost.' At this point, some fell silent on the floor of the church, while many, through their tears, cried, 'Good Lord, deliver us!' These heart-subduing sentences had been spoken by clergymen and murmured by people for generations, and their meaning had scarcely been guessed. When it flashed out of the well-worn words, the Cross of Christ was revealed to penitent sinners as the only means of salvation." For people often know more than they seem to know, and feel more than they seem to feel. Somewhere, in the recesses of their hearts, these rustic Welshmen had concealed a vague sense of the awe of that revelation, and it only needed a word to call it into effective life.

It would not be just to say that the Eleven had no positive or explicit articles in their creed. In Jerusalem the Christians had enjoyed a common life ; they had prayed and sung their praises, they had admonished and exhorted one another as God enriched them with His gifts ; individuals were

[1] Simon, *Revival of Religion in England*, p. 181.

caught up in sudden ecstasy under the influence of their vision of Christ, and the Master Himself was present in the breaking of bread. All this gave them a bent towards definite and statable thoughts ; and as none of them counted anything his own, there came, insensibly but inevitably, to be held in common a nucleus of doctrinal beliefs.[1] Something they took over from that Jewish Church in which their life began, and with which they had made no

[1] Pascal, *Pensées et Opuscules*, p. 80, says that : " the whole succession of men during so many ages may be considered as a single individual, thinking always and making advance in knowledge." Royce, *Sources of Religious Insight*, p. 112, exalts this common thought of men living together into something almost supernatural : " The common sense of mankind is for us all a sort of super-individual insight, to which we appeal without ourselves fully possessing it. This ' common ' sense of mankind is just the sense which no man of us ever individually possesses. For us all it is, indeed, something superhuman. . . . Whatever else is real, some form of such a wider insight, some essentially super-individual and superhuman insight is real." Schleiermacher, *Glaubenslehre*, Sect. 123 : calls this in its operation within the Church, the Holy Spirit. " The Holy Spirit is the union of the Divine Being with human nature in the form of the common spirit of the community, as animating the collective body of believers." " It is this stronger consciousness proceeding from Christ which, as the consciousness of the Christian community, is the Holy Spirit," says Pfleiderer, *Development of Theology*, p. 117. Dr. Pusey was looking in the same direction when he said, " Dear John Keble and I never did lean on the Bishops but on the Church. We, or rather the whole Church, have had plenty of scandals as to Bishops, and always shall have them." The Church also has its scandals ; but Pusey was groping after some divine element—some common life or spirit which is incapable of error.

break—specially their notions of God and sin, and of the place which the Messiah was to take in the world history. But into the framework which these provided there was introduced a new Figure, and what had been doctrine merely, arid often and repellent, came now to be religion.[1]

That transformation deserves a few words of expansion. The Jews had called God Father, as the Greeks in Homer's time had done, and in the 103rd Psalm the name is infinitely tender and consoling. Yet on the lips of the common man amongst the Jews, it had little currency, or, at least, little personal intimacy of suggestion. But through Jesus it became a joyful possession of everybody; and in the Christian assemblies the gladness and the wonder of it found expression in the hybrid cry—Abba, Father! as if they were fain to make the Name ring both ways in their ears, trying in which tongue it sounded tenderer. And that was their common thought, every man's thought of God; but what had made it so was nothing else than the introduction of Jesus into their world of thought. From tradition they had taken over a doctrine of sin, a sense of ill desert, and a system of sacrifices by which forgiveness might be secured. Some were perfectly content with these ritual provisions, but the men of deeper sense were troubled because "remembrance was made again of sins every year." They never

[1] Cf. Loisy, *Choses Passées*, p. 34: "As a timid child I trembled in conscience in presence of the question which, against my will, kept confronting me at every hour of the day,—Is there any reality corresponding to these constructions of the mind?"

seemed to escape from that chapter of offence, they never stood wholly clear ; but now, sad and brooding thoughts were left behind, for Christ had died for their sins. The third point of traditional doctrine which I mentioned by way of example was the place which the Messiah was to fill in the world's history. As to this, the Jews had their daring and magnificent expectations ; yet there was no calmness of certainty in them but something strained and fevered, as if with these glowing pictures of the future they were trying to cheat themselves into forgetting the present desolation.[1] But now amongst them there appeared a band of men who, with joy of heart, proclaimed that there was no further need of waiting, for they had found the Messiah and the Kingdom was at the door. In that sombre age, joy and praise to God were the continual notes of the Christian assemblies, and what made them glad was the sense that the Power which was to transform all things was in their midst and was on their side. When they gave a reason for the hope that was in them, they told about Jesus ; so that the early Christian doctrine was altogether a statement to men of the difference which Christ had made and would yet make.

This was the particular aspect of the faith as to which Paul was bound to make inquiry.[2] What had been simply taken over from Judaism he knew better

[1] Joh. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 8.

[2] Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 31 : "What stamped his Christianity as his own was his estimate of the person and work of Jesus as the Son of God."

than the others and understood it more deeply. But he had seen the Lord, and the impression of that first sight was so profound that he may sometimes have been afraid of himself. Not only had Jesus made every article of inherited doctrine to live, He had come to fill the whole sphere of divinity.[1] Every question as it arose was instinctively answered by him in the way that gave most glory to the Son of God, and whatever limited His sphere or imposed conditions on His grace was rejected. Even the life which he lived in the flesh, he lived now by the faith of the Son of God. Paul was assured that he had good reason for making claims so enormous, yet he felt that he would like to find if others gave the Lord the same place; and the Apostles, when put to it, dared not say less than he.

It is not easy, with certainty, to ascertain the mind of the Church at this time, for the writings which exist under the names of Peter and John are so largely coloured by the influence of Paul's teaching that they do not take us far; and, indeed, it is mainly by his assistance that we are able to travel back at all to the primitive conditions. He has preserved in his letters two or three rudimentary creeds, which are of interest as showing that the first doctrinal assertions of the Church were all assertions about Christ and His worth to His people. In I Cor. 15[3] Paul says, "I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received" (so here

[1] When Marcus Dods was witlessly accused of not believing in the deity of Jesus, he answered frankly that his real peril was of recognizing no God but Jesus.

we are taken to his instructions received from Ananias in Damascus, within five or six years of the Resurrection [1]), "how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that He was buried, that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve." That is as elementary and objective as the central portion of the Apostles' Creed, a bare chronicle of facts; and it discovers to us the way in which these early believers pored over the Old Testament in search of something to justify their feeling that their faith was not an innovation but was closely linked to all that went before.

A creed of greater interest is given in Rom. 10 [9], which conducts us into the very heart of the faith of the oldest times: "If thou confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and believe in thy heart that God raised Him from among the dead, thou shalt be saved." The two propositions involved in this form of words are both of profound Christian significance. Nothing is more universal or more characteristic in the Early Church than the attributing to Jesus of the title Lord (*Κύριος*). That marked so great a step that Paul declares (I Cor. 12 [3]) that "no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit." It was the distinctively Christian confession, for which men were willing to die. "What harm is there in saying, Cæsar is Lord, and in sacrificing to him?" was the question thrust by the inquisitors upon

[1] Sir William Ramsay dates Paul's conversion, 32 or 33; Prof. G. G. Findlay (Hastings, *Dict. Bible*—article "Paul") dates it 36.

Polycarp[1] and the company of the martyrs, and it was something nobler than obstinacy which sealed their lips. Johannes Weiss[2] says that "the formula—our Lord Jesus Christ—contains in germ the primitive Christian religion. Obedient submission, reverence, a holy fear of wounding Him, the absolute feeling of dependence in everything, gratitude, love and trust,—in short, everything that man can feel in the presence of the Deity finds utterance in this Name." Nothing can better show how much was involved in the title than the fact that, without theory or reflection, the believers all began to pray to Christ as the Disposer of their lot. When Paul was tortured by his thorn in the flesh, he says, "For this thing I besought the *Lord* thrice that it might depart from me" (II Cor. 12 [8]). "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" cried Stephen, when the darkness was closing in upon him (Acts 7 [59]). "The same Lord is the lord of all men, rich toward all who call upon Him" (Rom. 10 [12]). This, which gives Him His appropriate place in the universe of God, is "the name which is above every name." Since He is Lord, His people frankly acknowledge themselves His slaves, over whom He rules with unrestricted fullness of power; and in this point, though Paul had seen more clearly than the Eleven all that it implied, the others were not a whit behind him in their loyal and absolute submission to Jesus as their Lord. The other point in this short creed

[1] Mart. Polyc. 8 [2]: see an admirable note by Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum N.T.*, Rom. 10 [9].

[2] *Christus*, p. 24.

is *the resurrection of Jesus*, in which the disciples rejoiced, not as the vanquishing of death but as God's express recognition of His Son, the solemn reversing of a mistaken decision. "Ye slew the Prince of life," says Peter (Acts 3 [15]), "but God raised Him from the dead." "By the hands of outsiders (*ἀνόμων*—men who had nothing to do with the Law), ye crucified and slew Him, but God raised Him up" (Acts 2 [23-4]). Even in the days of His flesh they had begun to divine His quality, but it was with an effort, and the brutal exposures of the Crucifixion left them staggering. And what established faith for ever, not in Jesus only but in God (I Peter 1 [21])—for it was God they were perplexed about—was this divine act of resurrection.

Another Pauline phrase (I Cor. 16 [22]) takes us to the very beginnings of definite belief. "If any man love not the Lord, let him be as an outcast. Our Lord is coming! (Maran Atha!)" The fact that an Aramaic phrase should appear untranslated in a letter to a Greek Church, within five and twenty years of the Crucifixion, can only be accounted for in one way—that the phrase had established itself at the very beginning, in the usage of the Church, so firmly that it passed to daughter Churches as a necessary part of the liturgical furnishing which called for no interpretation. Just as we forget that we are talking Hebrew when we say Amen or Hallelujah, so these Corinthians heard without any sense of foreignness a phrase which seemed as old as the Gospel itself. But if the phrase is so utterly primitive and so inseparable from the early Christian

worship, it must take rank as being one of the original expressions of assured belief within the Church.[1]

In all these fragments of evidence, the one note appears that Christ holds the central place. Whatever in them can be called doctrine was a more or less naïve report of the impression which Jesus had made upon His friends, and of the authority which He had established in their lives.[2] It was experience through and through, whether in Paul or in the Eleven; and if in many points Paul's faith was clearer, it was because he was bolder than they in letting experience declare its own significance, unhindered by the traditions of the Synagogue. Jesus Christ had taken possession of his heart and of theirs, so that wherever they looked they saw Him—giving meaning to the long record of Temple sacrifices in the past, transfiguring the lives of men in the present, and, for the future, giving assurance of a triumphant reign of God. When they thought of their sin, they saw Him who had died for it according to the Scriptures; when they faced the perplexities of fortune, He offered Himself as guide and Providence. It was as to the place they gave to Christ that Paul had sought the help of conference

[1] The passage in Acts 8 [37] (A.V.), "if thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest be baptized. I believe that Jesus is the Son of God," is not part of the original text; but it is probably an early baptismal formula, and its witness coincides with that of the undisputed passages.

[2] Dr. W. P. Paterson (*Rule of Faith*, p. 201) goes greatly beyond his warrant when he says that "the Christian religion not only involves but lives by taking for granted a somewhat elaborate theology"; so p. 199.

with the leaders, and in this he discovered, as he supposed, an entire agreement. It is likely enough that he exaggerated the completeness of their concurrence, for he had the generous instinct of imputing his own heat of feeling to every one he met. What Shakespeare says in *Timon*[1] might fitly be applied to Paul, who acknowledged saints where many would have only reckoned up the flaws : " The middle of humanity thou never knewest, but the extremity of both ends." He had better understanding of the great sinner and the great saint, than of the sober, pedestrian man, who is neither one thing nor the other. In Galatians 2 [14-21], he allows himself to pass unwittingly from his scorching rebuke of Peter into an inspired soliloquy, and it would be perilous to say that the conception of the mystical union to which he gives expression (2 [20-21]) was matter of entire agreement. Paul was himself a religious genius, with all the swiftness of perception which that involves ; and his too ready assumption is that all Christians live, as he did, " in the element Christ, as birds live in the air, and fishes in the sea, and the roots of plants in the earth." [2] That he took for granted, about his fellow-believers,[3]

[1] Act iv., Sc. 3.

[2] Deissmann, *Die N. Tliche Formel in Christo Jesu*, p. 84.

[3] This is not universally accepted. Dr. Percy Gardner, e.g. (*Relig. Exper. of St. Paul*, p. 201), says : " Paul does not speak of personal intercourse with an exalted Saviour as the common property of believers. Such special inspiration, whether in actual visions and words, or in the form of inner experience, has been claimed in the Church mainly by the few. . . . A Christian need not be conscious of such special communications. *The*

but actually it is not realized as true by "the middle of humanity," the men of custom and sobriety who can, at best, assent to what goes beyond their measure. The same question may be raised with regard to Paul's view of the Law. Even as the record stands in the Book of Acts, with traces of Luke's desire for conciliation on every page, it is evident that there was no entire concurrence. It has been suggested [1] that we must look to the Thessalonian Letters for "the form in which St. Paul judged it fitting to present the Christian Gospel to nascent Christian communities," for when he was "free from the constraint of false and mischievous opinions, he taught the common faith of Christians in simple, untechnical language"; in a word, he

life in Christ is primarily that of the community." Whatever justification may be offered for this assertion from the history of the Church, it certainly was not Paul's view. Ritschl (*Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. trans., p. 130) says: "Justification or reconciliation is related in the first instance to the whole of the community founded by Christ, and to individuals only as they attach themselves by faith in the Gospel thereto." Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. 123) speak of "Justification as normally mediated through the Church. St. Paul often drops the intervening link, especially in the earlier Epistles. . . . The Christian sacrifice with its effects, like the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement by which it is typified, reach the individual through the community." Why should Paul be said to "drop a link" before it had been formed? The more accurate expression would be that sometimes in the later and doubtful Epistles a link is *inserted*. Paul was an individualist who recognized the power and the utility of a society; but he did not change his ultimate view.

[1] Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 14.

was "a Paulinist, so to speak, against his will," and gave no place to the controversy about the Law in his mission preaching. But the evidence in favour of such a view is by no means strong. Before the emissaries had reached Galatia, it appears that Paul had warned his converts against a tendency which was not confined to Judaism, but showed itself wherever men endeavoured to be religious without owing everything to God. In Galatians he refers again and again to lessons he had given them before the danger had become acute. "As we said before so say I now again, If any man preacheth unto you any Gospel other than that which ye received, let him be an outcast (1 ^{9})." "I testify *again* to every man who lets himself be circumcised that he becomes bound to do the whole law (5 ^{3})." These point to a kind of preaching in which the Eleven could not, with full intelligence, have concurred. The sermon at Pisidian Antioch [1] (Acts 13 ^{39}), and the turning to the Gentiles there (13 ^{46}) may be taken as strong confirmatory evidence that even in his mission preaching Paul could not refrain from raising this vital issue. The agreement between Paul and the Eleven was really confined to the place which Jesus holds in the world of history and in the life of His people; and even in that, Paul too sweepingly assumed that all the straightforward inferences must be accepted by them as by him.

[1] McGiffert (*Apostolic Age*, p. 186) treats the sermon as at least infra-Pauline if not non-Pauline. Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, p. 307) regards it as "a characteristic sketch preparatory to the evangelizing of an audience which knew nothing but the Law."

Such a limitation has a serious practical interest, as it suggests where men of most diverse training and temper may come together. The agreement of the Apostles cannot possibly be extended to cover all the detail of the Catholic, or of any other creeds, in which there is always a bulk of theological accretion, with which the witness of the heart has little to do. It does not, as we have seen, cover all the ground of Paulinism, or of that "sort of average combination of Biblical ways of thinking," which is sometimes offered as the theology of the New Testament. "Such an average combination of thoughts, so arranged, has never existed organically in any man," says Herrmann ;[1] and certainly it has no considerable promise for the reuniting of the divided elements of Christendom. Something simpler, deeper and more catholic than any of these is requisite. Of John Howe it is recorded[2] that when, in his student days, he was pressed by Thomas Goodwin to join the Independent Church in Cambridge, he answered that he could not, because "he understood that they laid a great stress upon some peculiarities for which he had no fondness, though he could give others their liberty without any unkind thoughts of them ; but if they would admit him into their society *upon catholic terms*, he would readily become one of them." Where Paul and the Eleven actually came together was in a sort of *theologia viatoris*, the theology of a wayfaring man, the faith, largely inarticulate, by which Christian men live and are sustained in their

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 9.
[2] Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, I. 186.

daily affairs. If, at any moment, one pressed questions home as to what this, in its detail, implies, he would probably be rewarded by answers which are not strictly true. The heart has its own reserves, and the deepest things do not readily find utterance in words; so that a man pushed for an answer, is likely to set forward some creed or form of words which is like the faith he holds, but really is both more than it and less. There is an irritating element of truth in Schopenhauer's saying,[1] though, of course, there is exaggeration also: "As soon as a thought has found words it no longer exists in us, or is serious in its deepest sense. When it begins to exist for others it ceases to live in us, just as a child frees itself from its mother when it comes into existence. The poet has also said[2]:—

> Ihr müsst mich nicht durch Widerspruch verwirren!
> So bald man spricht, beginnt man schon zu irren."

The best of human love is not profuse in amorous expressions, for it is not thinking of itself but of its object. The honesty, on which one leans without reserve, is utterly unconscious of itself; it offers no justification for itself nor gives reasons, for nothing else than honesty seems possible. And in religion also words are few, because feeling is profound and directed towards its object. In the true *Theologia Viatoris* there is no deliberate exclusion of particular dogmas, and yet vast tracts of doctrine are silently ignored as adding nothing that is of practical use.

[1] *Essay on Authorship and Style.*

[2] "You must not bewilder me by contradiction! As soon as a man speaks, he begins to go wrong."

It may be these are true, and to certain minds they may be enormously important ; but to others, being such as they are, they present no points of interest. "What really unites Christians with each other and with the witness of the New Testament," says Herrmann,[1] "is not the complete identity of our thoughts but the entire likeness of our ways of thinking, and the unity of the revelation by which that likeness is caused. . . . There are, on the one hand, the same Jesus, and the conception of God as His Father which is inseparable from Him ; and on the other, the same personal life redeemed by God as He is made manifest in Jesus, or, in other words, the same faith. Every Christian who reads the New Testament for his edification will lay hold of these two things in it, and gain thence the proper nourishment for his soul." This common religion of the Christian man is affected, in form and colour, by the life of the community in which he finds himself ; and inwardly also it may be enriched. As they sing and pray and worship together, bearing burdens, and ministering consolations, and holding the general fears of men at bay by certain strong assurances, their inner wealth should steadily be increased. Most men do not know all that is contained in the treasure-house of life, for our best possessions lie out of sight ; and thus it comes that the sober, inarticulate religion of duty and reverence so often proves to be nobler than it seemed, and shy depths of feeling are discovered in it, as it were, by chance. Dr. Harnack[2] speaks of

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 10.

[2] *Expansion of Christianity* (Eng. trans., 1st ed.), 1. 120.

the few recorded instances in the story of the Early Church, where, in dying confessions, the wonder of a plain man's feeling for Jesus Christ breaks forth, and actually brings Christ before his eyes. Mr. Campbell Moody [1] bears the same witness of the Church in Formosa that, sometimes in dying, men who have seemed dry and unimpressionable in religion reveal an inner flame. "Jesus is coming with a white flag to take me to heaven," said such a man; "do you not see Him coming?" "These good Fathers *said* nothing decisive about justification by grace, yet at their death they believed in it. They lived better than they wrote." That witness of Luther's might be applied to others than the Church Fathers. Many are better Christians and nearer to their fellows than on the surface they appear to be, for in the depths their hearts have been gained and are held by Jesus Christ.

Thus from men of widely different training and constitution and experience, Paul got the comfort he desired. In following his own heart, and in letting himself be tutored by his individual experience, he had not surrendered to error. "The same Lord is Lord of all." His are the keys to open the doors of the royal treasure house, and His is the authority to break the seals. By diverse ways He leads His friends to the one goal in the knowledge of Himself, in which are both the beginning and the end of a Christian theology; and thus He justifies their trust in the voice they heard within.

[1] *Heathen Heart*, p. 128; cf. Warneck's *Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 300.

CHAPTER V

A VALID MINISTRY

"Our sufficiency is from God, who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant."

DR. INGE,[1] with a certain shadow of regret, allows that in his recoil from the Law, Paul uses "language capable of giving encouragement even to fanatical Anabaptists"; but nowhere is the Apostle more anarchic in his attitude than in this Epistle, where he assumes that, if Christ has chosen and equipped a man as an Apostle, it matters nothing to his essential standing whether the Church has acknowledged him or not.

It is, surely, an instance of the irony of history that Paul's right to be considered an Apostle should be disparaged at a time when the whole conception of apostleship was in a condition of flux. Throughout the New Testament there is no uniformity in the use of the word, and frequently it is impossible to say with confidence how much is covered by it. Three senses of the word must be recognized. First of all, it is applied to the Eleven with Matthias, and as to the character of their office no question can arise. "Of these men which have companied with

[1] *Christian Mysticism*, p. 63.

us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he was taken up from us, must one be chosen to be a witness with us of His resurrection" (Acts 1 21-22). "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me" (Acts 1 8). That is the primitive conception. The Apostles, by Christ's own commission, had been put in charge of a tradition, and, in the nature of the case, their office could not be transmitted.[1] In so far as they had successors, these were not men but the Four Gospels; for once the Evangelic story had taken shape and been put in writing, the necessity for this special function of keeping alive the detailed memory of a fact had passed away.

At the other extreme—of vagueness, the word is occasionally used in its bare etymological sense, as meaning an emissary.[2] In Philippians 2 25, Paul speaks of Epaphroditus, a humble man, as "your messenger (*ἀπόστολον*) and he that ministers to my wants." Some unnamed persons sent on an errand he calls (II Cor. 8 23) "the messengers (*ἀπόστολοι*) of the Churches, the

[1] It is sometimes asked why, if the Spirit of God still works, no writings have appeared like the New Testament. One substantial answer is that the N.T. books are echoes and extensions of Christ's appearance in that age, as unique and as little to be repeated as that appearance itself. The same applies to the Apostles; their providential function was bound up with the fact that they had companied with the Master.

[2] A curious inversion of values is implied in the reading of the Text. Rec. at Acts 15 33—*πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους*, instead of the original *πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστείλαντας αὐτούς*; i.e. an apostle has ceased to be one who is sent, either by Christ or by the Church, he now is a person who sends.

glory of Christ." And in the sublimest connexion of all, the Hebrews are exhorted (Heb. 3 [1]) to "consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession," for Jesus too was sent upon an errand, and "was faithful to Him that appointed Him as Moses also was."

But there is a third group of cases in which a function is seen in the process of hardening into an office. A man who had once been sent by a local congregation might be sent again and again, until he came to be acknowledged as the representative and mouthpiece of his Church; but where or how the final step was taken, and the man ceased to be merely a trusted messenger and became an official, it is not possible to determine. Barnabas (Acts 14 [4, 14]) and James the Lord's brother (Gal. 1 [19], with which take Acts 9 [27]; I Cor. 15 [7]), are styled apostles; of Andronicus and Junias Paul says (Rom. 16 [7]) that they are "outstanding among the apostles." In I Corinthians 15 [7] he speaks of "all the apostles" as distinguished from the Twelve [1] (15 [5]), but including them. In II Cor. 11 [5], 12 [11], he refers to men

[1] Does this include Matthias, or is the phrase used in absence of mind? *Expos. G. Test.—ad loc.:* "'The Twelve'—the College of the Apostles, without exact regard to number; actually *ten*, wanting Judas Iscariot and Thomas absent on the first meeting." Hausrath (*Paulus*, p. 142) says: "Paul was so accustomed to name them the Twelve as in Jesus' time that he continued to use the expression when it had lost its fitness." The Western reading is *τοὺς ἑνδεκα*, on which Joh. Weiss (*1 Korintherbrief*, p. 350) bases the conjecture that the original reading showed a gap of which students were conscious. One scribe mechanically supplied "the Twelve," whilst another, aiming at accuracy, substituted "the Eleven."

who are " apostles ever so much " (*ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι*), a type of cleric which has not died out, marked by a certain fussy, official solemnity, as if, in the Church of Jesus, it were possible for a man *ex officio* to be somebody. Not only might such men draw a stipend from the local community (II Cor. 12 [13] ; cf. I Peter 5 [2]—*μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς*), they tended to assert themselves as masters within it ; and Paul describes (II Cor. 11 [20]) how they made slaves of their people, ate up their substance, took their money, exalted themselves, and even smote them on the face. How they came to be raised to apostolic standing does not appear, but we may take it that their elevation was procured by some sort of gift ; and it is possible [1] that Paul had them in mind when he wrote (I Cor. 13 [2, 3]) of those who had faith to remove mountains or to give their bodies to be burned, but had not love ; for men of that fanatical temper might well impress the infant Church. James may have owed his rank within the Church to some cloudy sense of hereditary right attaching to the family of Jesus.[2] But the others seem to have enjoyed their standing, not merely in virtue of some obvious qualification or of particular tasks or errands entrusted to them, but of an express commission from the Church ; [3] and this

[1] It may be that Paul was merely imagining extreme possibilities, but his own language elsewhere encourages the idea that he had actual cases in mind.

[2] Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.*, III., 19, 20, 32.

[3] Boissier (*Promenades Archéologiques*, p. 183) notes that " the title of martyr was only accorded after consideration of the Church " ; cf. the discussion as to Alphege's martyrdom and Anselm's decision (Welch, *Anselm*, p. 89).

secondary apostolate continued, though with sorely tattered reputation, until the end of the century at least. "In what concerns the Apostles and Prophets," we read in the *Didaché* (Chap. XI.), "act according to the decree of the Gospel. Every Apostle coming to you shall be received as the Lord. He shall stay but one day, or, if need be, a second; but if he stay three days he is a false prophet. And in going away, the Apostle shall take nothing but bread to carry him to his next lodging; if he asks for money he is a false prophet." Clearly it was time that an end should be made of such successors of the Apostles. But long before the office had fallen so low, "the Twelve" had regained a solitary standing in the imagination of the Church.[1] "The wall of the city had twelve foundations," says John (Rev. 21 [14]), "and in them the names of the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb." "Ye are of the household of God," says one (Eph. 2 [19, 20]), "and are built upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets." Their call had come from Jesus Christ; and as years passed and as their ranks grew thinner, they were more definitely withdrawn from association with those who owed their authority only to some formal recognition by

[1] In the *imagination* not in the actual obedience of the Church. Acts 11 [30], 12 [17], e.g., indicate that the Apostles quickly fell into the background in practical matters. Harnack (*Acts*, p. 266) suggests that, at the outbreak of the Herodian persecution, the Apostles had taken flight; that in their place, James and a college of elders had taken over the leadership of the Church in Jerusalem (12 [17]), which never returned to the Twelve. To this later imaginative glorifying of the Twelve belong such phrases as Matt. 19 [28], Luke 22 [30].

the Church. No identity of name could conceal this profound and far-reaching contrast in reality.

Now when Paul refers to himself as "an apostle not from men nor through the influence of any man," he is claiming a place alongside of the Eleven. He acknowledges that they were "Apostles before me" (Gal. 1 [17]), but that implies no inferiority of station. Bluntly he sets himself [1] and Barnabas on a level with "the other apostles" (which may be construed vaguely), and "the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (I Cor. 9 [5]). In what constituted the peculiarity of their office— the commission of Christ and the power to witness to Him as risen—he claimed an authority not less than theirs; and to these he added a test which they could scarcely decline. In vindication of his apostleship, he asks not only, "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" but "Are not ye my work in the Lord?" (I Cor. 9 [1]).[2] For in these high matters it is not enough to declare, "I have seen," the witness must be borne with such heart and fire as to quicken life in those who hear. The true Apostle, it seems, is called by the Lord Himself, and the material part of his call consists in the opening of his eyes to see the Master, so that he can tell others of Him. But beyond that, he must have

[1] So II Thess. 3 [9]: "Not that we have not authority," i.e. to look to the Church for a maintenance. The inclusion of Barnabas is significant as showing that Paul did not base the true apostleship on such dramatic incidents as befell him at Damascus.

[2] Lake (*Earlier Epistles*, p. 229) refuses to take these as proofs of Paul's apostleship; but in the whole passage he ignores the ambiguity of the word "apostle," so his argument misses the point.

in him such energy of life that life is communicated to others through his word. These, in Paul's view were the indispensable notes of an Apostle,[1] and in these he was not behind the Eleven, though no ecclesiastical sanction whatsoever could be quoted in justification of his claim.

In presence of a claim so naked, it is not surprising that older-fashioned Christians were perplexed. Paul had not, like the Eleven, lived for months with Jesus, and thus become a fitting source of information as to His life and meaning. As he claimed rank in virtue of his inspirations, he seemed more fitly classed with the prophets, of whom there were many in the Church, and from whom their fellows gladly learned. But in point of authority, the Apostle was primary, the prophet was only secondary (I Cor. 12 [28]), and his inspirations were checked and measured by the inherited wisdom of the community (I Cor. 14 [29]). If Paul had been content to rank as a prophet, the Church would have known how to estimate him; or if he had even posed as an Apostle of the humbler grade, like Andronicus and Junias, who took the material of their preaching from the tradition of the Eleven, they would have known how to class him. But, as Wernle notes,[2] "a leap was

[1] To these might be added miraculous gifts (Rom. 15 [19], II Cor. 12 [12]; more doubtfully, I Cor. 2 [4]). Deissmann (*Paulus*, p. 142) takes Gal. 3 [5] in the same sense, as if ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν were the Apostle; but it is better with Lightfoot and others to understand the phrase as meaning: "God who works miraculous powers in you." These powers were not distinctively apostolic (I Cor. 12 [10, 28, 29]).

[2] *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 100.

taken in history," when Paul claimed an apostolate based upon revelation, and his opponents were warranted in disputing his title to the rank in any sense which had hitherto been recognized. Wherever his teaching seemed to cross the lines which had become familiar, the old believers instinctively looked to Jerusalem for a decision ; but Paul would not have it so. His apostolate was not secondary. It had the same source and the same measure of authority as Peter's. In so far as this was a matter of names, the question had no interest for him. " If I am not an Apostle to others, I am at least to you," he says (I Cor. 9 [2]) to his friends ; for he cared nothing what they called him, if only he might have an audience for his message. But when this was hindered, when the truth which had been burned into his mind by the Lord Himself was subdued into something customary and commonplace, then all the possibilities of battle that were in him were awakened, and he rang out his challenge as one who claimed a place by the side of the favoured group of the Eleven. " I also have seen Jesus Christ ; I also speak of Him at first hand. If any sort of technicality is required to make an Apostle, then, indeed, I am without it ; but what have men and their formalities to say when the Master Himself has spoken ? " Paul was concerned to keep the way of communication open between man and God. He saw the clear sky clouding over, and men contenting themselves as with " broken moonbeams on a misty night." What James, or Peter, or John had said was quoted as determining, as if there could be no question of—What dost thou

say ? [1] The world, it seemed, was to travel on to the end, mumbling traditional phrases, as if the Lord were dead and could no longer speak to the hearts of His friends. That is a matter of permanent concern. Is the ministry of the word to be a dragging chain, with link holding simply by the next link, and thus, through saints and reformers and prophets and apostles, coming at last to the throne of God ? or does it at every stage depend on God directly, on a Divine call and Divine instruction and Divine illumination by which alone the instructions can be understood ? [2] In the singular mercy of our God, Paul was set forth as the champion of this nobler view to the Galatians, and through them to the whole Catholic Church of Jesus Christ.

His claim to be considered an apostle was based upon the one fact that, with the eyes of the heart, he had seen Jesus, which seems to imply that the most certainly valid title to divine office [3] is contained in the bestowment by revelation from above of ability to discharge the duties of it. In this matter the Society of Friends has more daringly accepted Paul's

[1] " Literature is a question, a recognition, a consultation, an evocation to the reader's spirit. *Il poeta mi disse : Che pense ?* " (Mrs. Meynell's *Ruskin*, p. 168).

[2] Duhm, *Ever-Coming Kingdom*, p. 14 : " Prophets expect everything from God ; the mere followers believe that they have received from God through their masters all that is most important ; and now they have only to order, regulate, and organize what they have received."

[3] Paul expressly deals only with the apostolic office, but the principle can readily be extended to all officials engaged in ministering the Divine grace to their fellows.

principle than any other Christian community, and thus may be the teacher of us all. "What maketh a man to be a minister in the Church of Christ?" asks Robert Barclay.[1] "That which is necessary to make a man a Christian, so as without it he cannot truly be one, must be much more necessary to make a man a minister of Christianity." "Those who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commission of men and Churches, are to be esteemed, but as deceivers and not as true ministers of the Gospel."[2] "No man can be a minister of the Church of Christ, which is His body, unless he be a member of the body, and receive of the virtue and life of the Head."[3] Barclay illustrates the directness of the relation between Christ and the minister whom He appoints by the practice of feudalism.[4] "If an estate is entailed to a certain name and family, when that family weareth out and there is no lawful successor found . . . then by the law of nations, the inheritance devolves unto the Prince as being Ultimus Haeres, and he giveth it again, immediately, to whom he sees fit. . . . In like manner, the true name and title of a Christian, by which he hath right to the heavenly inheritance, is inward righteousness and holiness, and a mind redeemed from vanities, lusts and iniquities of this

[1] *Apology*, p. 280; cf. Dean Stanley's *Life*, chap. ix.: "However much ordination pledges us to a particular profession, it imposes upon us no *additional* obligation to holiness. It is a great privilege to be a minister of the Church, but it is a far greater privilege to be a member of it."

[2] *Apology*, p. 271. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 300. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

world. . . . Where this is lost, the title is lost ;[1] and the inheritance devolves again unto Christ, and He gives the title and true right again, immediately, to whom it pleaseth Him." That is entirely Pauline, in its noble jealousy of any intrusion of men. Paul, as we have seen, acknowledged only two tests of a man's call to apostleship : has a man seen Jesus Christ ? and can he help other men to see Him ? If these were satisfied, Paul was careless as to any forms of ordination, for a title was secure, better than any which a Church could confer. The American evangelist, Jerry Macaulay, says of his own conversion : [2]

[1] If I may quote a truly classical authority, *Barchester Towers* : " Mr. Slope declared that the main part of the consecration of a clergyman was the self-devotion of the inner man to the duties of the ministry. Mr. Arabin contended that a man was not consecrated at all, had, indeed, no single attribute of a clergyman, unless he became so through the imposition of some bishop's hands, who had become a bishop through the imposition of other hands, and so on, in a direct line to one of the Apostles." One hates to agree with Mr. Slope in anything ; but it is clear that in this matter he was, at least, looking in the direction of Paul's teaching, whilst Mr. Arabin and his school were turning their backs upon it.

[2] *Down in Water Street*, p. 85. Contrast with this M. Loisy's account of the night before his ordination (*Choses Passées*, p. 45) : " Stretched on the couch in my humble cell, I recalled all the arguments I knew in proof of Christianity ; and as always, they seemed to slip from my grasp just as I laid hold of them " ; p. 49 : " I was constantly engaged in convincing myself of this truth." According to ecclesiastical rule, Loisy's ordination was valid ; he received the commission of his Church, with whatever grace the form of that secures. But according to Paul's standard, nothing that the Church could do to such a man could make

"That night, right at the corner of Broadway and 32nd Street, I was ordained to preach the everlasting Gospel, and have never doubted it for an instant. I have never stood before an audience without this vision inspiring me, 'If I can only make these people know who You are, they will love You too.' I have since been ordained by my beloved Methodist Episcopal Church, and I feel highly honoured; but I have always believed that I was ordained of *God* that night." There, in a plain man's words, is Paul's conception of what is fundamental. Anything that the Church may do is relegated by Paul, as by Jerry Macaulay, to a lower level; it is interesting, helpful, welcome so far as it goes, but clearly secondary; for the right to speak is founded on having something to say, which is not conferred by the community but by God who grants it as He will. Such a position may be scarcely intelligible to a man who habitually sets the Church first, but that does not make it the less Pauline. In answer to a friend who confessed that what he wanted was "to see and touch the supernatural with the eye of his soul, with its own experience," Newman declares,[1] "You wish not to walk by

him a true minister, for the material part of ordination was wanting. He had not entered by the door. Cf. Luther's account of his own beginning (Michelet's *Life of Luther*, p. 9): "When I said my first Mass at Erfurt, I was well-nigh dead, for I had no faith. My only notion about myself was that I was a very worthy person. I did not regard myself as a sinner at all." To him, clearly, the ceremony of ordination had not brought the one qualification which is indispensable. This had to come afterwards and in very different ways.

[1] Ward's *Life of Newman*, II. 277.

faith but by sight. If you had experience, how would it be faith ? " for to him faith was submission to an external authority. But that is not the apostolic view ; in the New Testament, " faith is a vision and an allegiance " [1]—a personal sight of the Lord and a life which is ruled by that seeing. And such a faith was the primary fact in Paul's apostolate.

Such a view of what is indispensable may be convincing and sufficient to a man himself, but how is the community to be satisfied ? And is there not a likelihood that the lighter and vainer a man is, he will the more readily trust to his own inspirations, and thrust himself forward as a God-sent instructor of his fellows ? and who is subtle or discerning enough unfailingly to penetrate the self-deceptions to which all men are liable ? Cromwell appointed " thirty-eight chosen men, the acknowledged flower of English Puritanism," [2] to be " Commissioners for the Approbation of Ministers," [3] and he reports of their work [4] that " neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these approbations " : they looked deeper, that is to say, than either an ecclesiastical or an academic recognition. That seems a fair beginning ; but their commission did not run for long, and, even whilst it continued, it gave little satisfaction to some of the most serious people in England. George Fox [5] reminds these Commissioners that " Paul gave Timothy an order to try ministers by," and that

[1] A saying of Dr. Hort's.
[2] Carlyle's *Cromwell*, IV. 6.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[5] *Fox's Journal*, pp. 147–8.

"Christ gives marks to His disciples to try such as these that you are to try." It is possible for some who have undergone the most anxious scrutiny to be yet of those who are "called of men—masters, who are sayers but not doers"; and under these tests, as it appeared to Fox, reputations which had survived the inquiries of Cromwell's "Triers" began to crumble. But critics of Fox and his followers might, in their turn, strike their finger on weaknesses in his method, for this work of approving and testing the messengers of Christ is endless. In addition to the demand for personal enlightenment, the only provision which Paul has made against so real a danger is the practical test of the appropriate result. "As ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel unto the edifying of the Church," he says (I Cor. 14 [12]), and he is humbly content himself to abide the application of the test; "are ye not my work in the Lord?" he asks in defence of his own standing. "The seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord" (I Cor. 9 [1, 2]). In a controversy which waxed hot in Scotland seventy or eighty years ago, it may be suggested that the Evangelical Party were feeling after such a standard when they insisted on the necessity of the popular call to a minister. In the background, of course, there were old theoretic discussions as to the source of a man's right to teach. But it was not these which made the pious common folk inexorable on this point. Cloudily they were feeling that it was possible for a man to satisfy every outward test,—in morals, in education, in power of speech; but unless there was evidence that his words

could awaken an echo in the hearts of those who heard, his call could not be taken as complete. The Methodists have had the habit of going straighter to their point than our Scots controversialists, and their meaning in regard to this matter is never obscure. "The personal call of God is the indispensable requisite for admittance to the ministry; this call the Church recognizes but does not originate. . . . The Conference, in its detailed arrangements for the examination of candidates, is seeking to discover those whom the Lord has chosen. Gifts, grace, and fruit are the signs by which the Lord has been wont to designate His own called ministers."[1] "How shall we try those who think they are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel?" There[2] the question is unflinchingly presented, and the answer is admirably Pauline. "Inquire, Do they know God as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? Do they desire and seek nothing but God? And are they holy in all manner of conversation? Have they gifts as well as grace for the work? Have they a clear, sound understanding? Have they a right judgment in the things of God? Have they a just conception of salvation by faith? And has God given them an acceptable way of speaking? Do they speak justly, readily and clearly? Have they had any fruit of their labour? Have any been truly convinced of sin, and converted to God by their preaching? As long as the above marks

[1] *Manual of Directions for the Use of Candidates*, p. 8.

[2] "The Form of Discipline"; see *An Abridgement of the Summary of Methodist Law and Discipline*, p. 89.

concur in anyone, we believe he is called of God to preach. These we receive as sufficient proof that he is moved thereto by the Holy Ghost." [1] That, in its essence, is Paul's doctrine of what is indispensable. The making of a minister is a supernatural process, and the intrusion of any ecclesiastical formality into the *central* place seemed to him irrelevant.

The mere statement of such an attitude has a troubling suggestion of anarchy for many people, specially when it is brought into application to settled conditions of Church life. Some allowance, they admit, might be made for the exigencies of a time of disorder and experiment, since "*Res aliter se habet in ecclesia constituenda quam in ecclesia constituta.*" Robert Barclay's comment [2] upon this maxim is worth quoting. As a greater measure of power is required when a Church is in the making, "God, in His wisdom, distributes the same as He sees meet; but that the same immediate assistance of the Spirit is not necessary for ministers in a gathered Church as in a gathering one, I see no solid reason alleged. For sure Christ's promise was to be with His children

[1] It may be asked if this test of success can fairly be applied to lads at the outset of their ministry. Certainly, in a settled community, the commission of the Church must count for much. A man owes the beginning of his faith to the Church through which the Divine influences have reached him. It is natural for him to distrust himself and welcome any authority which will thrust him forth. What is vital is that he should not regard this authority as primary; within the community he must come to a life of his own, and accept his commission as coming to him in particular from the Lord Jesus Christ.

[2] *Apology*, p. 295.

to the end of the world, and they need Him no less to preserve and guide His Church than to gather and beget them. Nature taught the Gentiles this maxim :—

Non minor est virtus, quam quaerere, parta tueri.

To defend what we attain requires no less strength than what is necessary to acquire it. For it is by this inward and immediate operation of the Spirit, with which Christ hath promised to lead His people into all truth and to teach them all things, that Christians are to be led in all steps, as well last as first." Certainly, when everything is in the making, irregularities may be condoned, and a master builder must be trusted to make use of such materials as are at his disposal. But some of his principles Paul would never have allowed to be treated as of temporary application, " for the present distress." He would have rejoiced in Wesley's saying, " Church or no Church, we must save souls " ; and in all times and all conditions, he was convinced that no apostleship was even reputable which did not find its beginning in the direct meeting of a man's soul with Christ. If the Pastoral Epistles are his work, we must take it that, in his later view, a real blessing may come with and through the action of the Church (I Tim. 4 [14], II Tim. 1 [6]) ; but how indignantly would he have rejected the notion that a lad with a dead heart, simply by undergoing a certain formality, may be invested with supernatural powers ! The beginning must be made with the revealing of Jesus Christ in the heart ; other influences may conspire to deepen,

steady, enrich, exalt ; but even if these more formal influences were absent, as in Paul's own case, the material part of the apostolate would remain secure.

The distinction between a settled Church and a Church in the making does not, as I think, go deep enough ; and yet in further investigation and illustration of what has been said, there is a historical advantage in adhering to that division.

1. *Ecclesia constituenda.* When a Church is in course of formation, its history is sure to be marked by makeshifts. There is no tradition of service and no precedents ; and over the unmapped continent which is outspread before them, men have to find their way as best they can. Naïvely, they may catch at mistaken analogies from their former existence ; James the Lord's brother held rank by a quaint misapplication of inheritance ; " the religious functions of the abbot of Iona passed to one of his kindred nominated by himself," [1] just as to-day, in a quaint modern parody, the primacy amongst the Bahais seems to pass by heredity. The adoption by the Bishop of Rome of the pagan title of Pontifex Maximus, and the equipping of the Christian clergy in the vestments of the Roman magistracy,[2] are no mere examples of imitation ; they betray the presence in the minds of Christian people of conceptions borrowed under the influence of false analogies, and other examples of the same process might be given. But commonly, in the early stages of Church formation, men are left with little guidance, except such as their

[1] A. R. MacEwen, *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 71.
[2] Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 353.

own sense provides. Resolute and resourceful persons, not scared by the exercise of their authority, are frequently called out by an emergency, and they give the law to the growing community. What they do may seem in retrospect daring and anarchic, but it rather deserves the name of veracity, a fearless confronting of the facts of the case.

In the infant Church, we have to do with a company of men and women individually conscious of the grace of God, and, for that reason, fearless in accepting responsibility. God had called them by name, and they owed to Him in answer an obedience which was their own. The title of cleric as applied to certain officials of the community had, as Calvin [1] observes, "its origin in error or, at least, in improper feeling, since the whole Church is by Peter denominated κλῆρος (*clerus*), that is, the inheritance of the Lord (I Peter 5 [3])." The Lord's laity were His clergy; they were, as they are, all priests, with equal rights of access, and with no difference in their essential powers. "It is evident," says Dr. Percy Gardner,[2] "that in Corinth we have to do with a pure democracy, in which the only authority is, in the first place, the Spirit of Christ, and in the second place, the Apostle himself in the right of founder. . . . This power (of Paul's) can only be exercised through a general assembly of the members of the Church." In the Book of Acts we read of Paul and Barnabas ordaining elders (14 [23]), but there were other churches which did not wait for such assistance. "Paul does

[1] *Institutes*, IV., 4, 9.

[2] *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, p. 209.

not for a moment suggest," says Gardner,[1] "that it was he who had nominated the presbyters or bishops at Ephesus; he indeed implies the contrary. . . . If we go by the strict letter of our authorities, we must suppose that towards the end of Paul's life, bishops or presbyters elected by the Churches, and of undefined authority, were just coming into being." Of the Church in Antioch, Principal Lindsay says,[2] "an infant Church had come into being without the Apostles' guidance or assistance. Its birth is unrecorded, its earliest history unknown; the congregation is in being before the Apostles seem to have heard of it." This is not without its modern parallels. When Thomas Coke,[3] the Methodist Superintendent, was driven into harbour at St. John, Antigua, "he found a society of 1800 Methodists, mostly negro slaves, gathered under the care of John Baxter, shipwright and local preacher." And in many of our colonies,[4] Churches sprang into existence in similar fashion, providing as they could for their own needs, controlling their own affairs, and becoming centres in their turn of evangelical influence.

One of the first acts of a community, thus cast upon itself and God, is the choice of officials, and the New Testament, in one or two significant passages, shows how this act was regarded. We read in Acts (1 [24]), e.g., "They prayed and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show which of these two *Thou* hast chosen." Their business, as they felt,

[1] P. 211.
[2] *Church and Ministry*, p. 24.
[3] G. G. Findlay, *Wesley's World Parish*, p. 19.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

was " not to originate but to recognize " a call. In the succeeding history the office-bearers were chosen by acclamation of the people. " Before the conversion of the Empire," says Dean Stanley,[1] " bishops and presbyters alike were chosen by the whole mass of the people in the parish or the diocese." When Ambrose,[2] still unbaptized, was endeavouring in his capacity of civil magistrate to quiet the people in a church, the shout arose : " We will have Ambrose for bishop." In his own phrase, he was " raptus a tribunalibus ad sacerdotium." This method of election, which, in certain cases, has bordered on absurdity, persists in modified forms down to the present time. " For centuries," says Dr. Bliss,[3] " most of the patriarchs of Alexandria were appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople, but the present incumbent was elected in a truly democratic fashion." What was aimed at in this ancient usage was clearly the recognition of a title not the conferring of one.

[1] *Christian Institutions*, p. 240.

[2] *Dict. of Christian Biography*, s.v. Ambrose.

[3] *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, p. 51 ; see also pp. 56, 70, 75, etc. In his book *Au hasard de la vie*, M. Lockroy gives instances of such choice by acclamation in a profession where it is less relevant. After the overthrow of Napoleon III, a soldier in the ranks says to his officer (p. 161) : " Colonel, vous êtes nommé, et moi, je suis élu. C'est moi qui représente la légion et j'en prends le commandement. Quant à vous, retirez-vous ! " At p. 177, Lockroy describes his own experience. On arriving at the Mairie one morning, during the siege of Paris, he found the officers, sergeants, and guards gathered. " Tolain introduced me, and amid the clash of swords, guns and accoutrements, all hands were held up, and I was elected."

Dr. Lindsay [1] quotes one of the canons of Hippolytus : " Let the bishop be chosen of all the people. . . . Let the people say, ' We choose him.' Then, when silence is restored throughout the congregation, let them all pray for him saying, O God, give strength to him whom Thou hast prepared for us." The originating act is God's, and all that the people can do is simply to acknowledge and confirm it. " The official [2] is only the organ of the priesthood of all believers and not a substitute for it. There is no religious distinction between clergy and laity. All believers are priests, having access to God and the power to serve their brethren in prayer and admonition." " Do not mind [3] although the preacher may not have been consecrated by a bishop, for it is not to the office of preacher he is thus set apart but to the practice of private Mass ; and such priests are of Baal and Jeroboam. Whoever is called is consecrated, and may preach to those who have called him ; that is our Lord's consecration and ordination, and it is a right honourable one." These statements bear upon Reformation conditions,[4] but they are in complete harmony with much that is discovered in

[1] *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 246. When Knox (Laing's edition, I. 186) declined to preach " without a lawful vocation," John Rough pressed upon him " the power the congregation has above any man in whom they espied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it is to refuse."

[2] Oman, *The Church and the Divine Order*, p. 211.

[3] Luther, *Letters*, p. 320.

[4] *Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, XVIII. 10, 11 : " Diversissima inter se sunt sacerdotium et ministerium. Illud enim commune est Christianis omnibus, hoc non item."

the New Testament and elsewhere as to the practice of the primitive Church. One quaint illustration of men's feeling of what was fundamental in ordination is given in another Canon,[1] that whoever had been charged before a magistrate for Christ's sake, and punished, but afterwards set free, deserves in God's sight the rank of presbyter, without any formal ordination by a bishop. "Immo, confessio est ordinatio ejus." In so tremendous a providence, God had set His mark upon His servant, to which the community must hastily give effect.

Paul took it for granted (e.g. Eph. 4 [16]) that a proper Christian community would be able from its own members to supply teachers for its need; and the consent of the community invested men with the only authority they required.[2] That carries us far, as Luther, who is always bold, confesses:[3] "If a little company of pious Christian laymen were taken prisoners and carried away to a desert where they had not a priest consecrated by a bishop, and were there to agree to elect one of themselves to baptize, to celebrate the Mass, to absolve, to preach, this man would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops and all the popes had consecrated him." That is to say, when a living community acknowledges a gift which God has conferred, then Paul's two tests are satisfied, and, in all the essentials, there is a valid ministry,

[1] Lindsay, p. 248.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 246: "The congregation possessed within itself (i.e. without the presence of neighbour bishops) the power and authority to carry out the ordination of their chief office-bearers."

[3] *Primary Works*, p. 164.

although the customary formalities may have been ignored.

This is a question which has repeatedly in modern times confronted some body of Christian people, and it has received answers of varying degrees of intelligence and of courage.[1] Dr. James Robertson, a pioneer evangelist in the Canadian North-West, used to describe a group of people in a nook of the Rocky Mountains who awakened to their need of a spiritual teacher. They appealed in turn to the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, and the Methodists, and found that, at the moment, no man could be sent; so, finally, they turned to the Roman Church and got what they desired. Their assumption was that they must look outside of themselves, and they may have been right; a community can recognize a gift, it cannot create or confer it. But if these people had been living with Jesus Christ consciously among them there would have been another way open to them than this of knocking at every door in turn, and supplicating *in forma pauperis* for the gift of a teacher. They could have met their own need by singling out a man, or men, through whom the Lord could speak effectively to them; and no one who holds with Paul would doubt that they would thus

[1] Elsewhere (Chap. VIII.) I have spoken of the danger of the easy form of supposing a man in an island—"the Robinson Crusoe argument," as it has been called. In this connexion, however, it is clearly relevant; for if in such cases as can be mentioned, the irregularity was not fatal, if grace actually did travel along the channels provided, the plea for any *exclusive* validity belonging to other channels falls to the ground.

have had a ministry acknowledged and blessed by God. Among the earliest immigrants in South Australia [1] were some Methodists who, not having a minister, chose one of their number each quarter to act as Superintendent and to administer sacraments. They could not agree in their choice of a permanent Superintendent, "but God pitied us, and sent us a minister by wrecking one upon our coast." Human weakness interfered with the experiment, which is a wholesome admonition as to the *profitableness* of a Church order; but the good people had no reason for doubting of the reality of Christ's presence with them at His Table; and if we are guided by facts and by Scripture, not by theoretic prejudice, we also shall have no doubt. For thirty-seven years (1706–43) John McMillan [2] stood alone as minister of the Cameronians in the South of Scotland. There was a host of godly people sympathizing, there were students and one probationer amongst them, and there was a wide field for service; but as there was no second minister, there could not, according to the rules of the Church of Scotland, be a presbytery, so there could be no ordination, and the development of the work stood still. In 1737 the General Meeting, as it was called, resolved [3] that "our destitute and extraordinary case still continuing, and not knowing how soon we may be deprived of the light we yet enjoy, we give it as our unanimous mind that our revered pastor call forth to the office of the holy

[1] Findlay, *Wesley's World Parish*, p. 144.
[2] Hutchison's *Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, p. 153.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

ministry Mr. Charles Umpherston and Mr. Alexander Marshall, whom we judge the most fit and qualified persons amongst us." McMillan blocked the way in his zeal for the rules of a Church which he had left; but the people had no doubt as to their powers. By acclamation they could still, if need required it, call a man to the ministry; and traditional forms, which are merely secondary, must bend to the necessity. M. Albert Vandal [1] relates how under the Consulate in France, the desire for religious observance began to reawaken after the Reign of Terror; and since in many districts there were no priests, the people must do for themselves what they might. They approached Fouché, the redoubtable Minister of Police, with the request that they might be allowed to gather in church, to pray in common, "pour faire le geste religieux," that is, to observe the ritual of religion. Their request was refused by Fouché for the reason that "any religious gathering requires some one to speak and some one to direct the proceedings" ("un orateur et un régulateur"). That is to say, this godless Minister of Police (of whom it was said that "he lacked nothing in ability, little in good sense, but everything in virtue") shared the view of all institutionalists in religion that without a priest the Christian community is powerless; but Paul, starting from the other end, assumed that the living Spirit of God and the gathering of believing men are the fundamental facts, and that they can, in ways not fixed by precedent, furnish all that is indispensable.

[1] Avènement de Bonaparte, II. 311 (Nelson's edition).

So far we have considered the situation of an isolated group of Christian people forced, in technically irregular ways, to provide ministry and sacraments for themselves. A famous African missionary [1] notes that at the founding of a new village "a burning log from an old hearth must not begin the village fire," but that does not mean that the migrating tribe must shiver in the cold. A new fire is kindled by friction; and the resources of the Christian man in his higher necessities are not less fertile. But what if there be no community of believers, but simply one eager soul, a layman so-called, who in the absolute dumbness of a people hears the call of God? What would be his duty, and what would be his standing? Suppose he preached and made converts in some island of the sea, and then went on to baptize, to gather a Church, to assemble them at the Lord's Supper—would he be a mere intruder, and would his acts be without the proper efficacy? Robert Barclay,[2] as is natural, has no doubt as to the answer: "By the leading, moving and drawing of the light or gift of God, every evangelist and Christian pastor ought to be led and ordered in his work; and they who have this authority may and ought to preach the Gospel, though without human commission or literature." "Do not wait for a Church call," says William Burns [3] to McCheyne; "Christ's call is better. Souls are perishing! let us to the rescue, and leave others to abide by the stuff." When Whitefield came to Bristol in 1739, he was refused admission to any

[1] Donald Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, p. 203.
[2] *Apology*, p. 271. [3] Smellie, *McCheyne*, p. 186.

Church.[1] The governor of the jail invited him to preach to the prisoners, but this was stopped by the mayor and sheriffs, because he insisted on the necessity of a new birth—a message scarcely out of place in such an assembly. When he ventured to preach in the open air the Chancellor of the Diocese told him: "If you preach or expound anywhere in this diocese till you have a licence,[2] I will first suspend and then excommunicate you." Here then are the elements of the problem,—a clamorous need and a man with gift and message to whom, by ecclesiastical form, anything of title was denied; which is to be paramount—the timorous Church order, hampered in its movements by regard for vested interests and proprieties, or the imperious sense within a man's heart kindled by the love of Christ that he *must* speak? No system of etiquette, however elaborate and pompous in its pretensions, has a right which it can make good against this more ancient and fundamental and apostolic calling. If the Church had excommunicated Whitefield because of such activities, he would still have been "an apostle not of men but through Jesus Christ and God the Father"; and as such, his ministrations would have had the only

[1] Tyerman, I. 178; Simon, *Revival of Religion in England*, p. 202.

[2] *Ibid.*, I. 182; Whitefield wrote to the Bishop (Butler): "I offered to take a licence, but was denied." When Butler advised Wesley to leave the diocese of Bristol as he had no commission to preach there, Wesley replied that as "a priest of the Church universal" his commission was to preach everywhere. No one ever swallowed more formulas than Wesley, but few people have had so many to swallow.

kind of validity with which serious people need to concern themselves. Sacraments at his hands would have been true means of grace, channels by which the Divine mercy flowed to men. In these great days of reawakening, Whitefield was by no means the only breaker of bounds. Of the Welsh evangelist—Howell Harris—he writes: [1] "A burning and a shining light has he been in those parts, a barrier against profaneness and immorality, and an indefatigable promoter of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . Twice he has applied (being every way qualified) for holy orders, but he was refused under a false pretence that he was not of age, though he was then twenty-two years and six months. He is now above twenty-five years of age. Above a month ago he offered himself again, but was put off; upon this he was and is resolved to go on with his work.[2] For these three years he has discoursed twice almost every day, not authoritatively as a minister but as a private person. He has been in seven counties, and has made it his business to go to wakes, etc., to turn people from such lying vanities. Many alehouse people, fiddlers and harpers, sadly cry out against him for spoiling their business. He has been made the subject of numbers of sermons, has been threatened with

[1] Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I. 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, I. 188. A Welsh parson, Mr. Well, reports that "Whitefield had advised Howell Harris not to offer himself for holy orders, alleging 'the fanatical argument' that the success with which the Holy Spirit had blessed his labours was a sufficient proof of his Divine commission, and he needed no other." The source is tainted, but the report is of interest in our argument.

public prosecutions, and has had constables sent to apprehend him. But God has blessed him with inflexible courage, and he still continues to go on conquering and to conquer. He is of a most catholic spirit, and loves all who love our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Many call him their spiritual father, and I believe would lay down their lives for his sake. He has established near thirty societies,[1] and still his sphere of action is enlarged daily. He discourses generally in a field, but at other times in a house, from a wall, a table, or anything else. He is full of faith and the Holy Ghost." That is wholly such a ministry as Paul would have approved, with no wilful irregularity, but with its conditions determined by actual needs. He would have hailed it as from God, and defended it against the champions of mere correctness. John Wesley was a man of more orderly mind than Whitefield, and his instinct made him uncomfortable apart from precedent. When he first preached in the open air, he says that[2] "he submitted to be more vile." "I could scarcely reconcile myself to this strange way of preaching in the fields, having all my life till very lately been so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church."[3] But years taught

[1] These were framed on the plan of Spener's *Collegia Pietatis*, whose aim was to further the Gospel by mutual colloquy and comfort; see Herzog, *Real-Encyc.*, XIV. 504–6.

[2] *Journal*, I. 174 (Mar. 31, 1739).

[3] Howell Harris's vicar (*Elvet Lewis*, pp. 24–5) bade him notice in the Bible "the heavy judgments which God inflicted upon

him wisdom, and he said at a later time :[1] "I look upon all the world as my parish ; thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare to all who are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation." With this huge change in opinion, no corresponding change in the man had been wrought. He was dictatorial, assured, a lover of order at the last as at the first ; but he had discovered a new standard of legitimacy, and had no troubling question as to the validity of his own orders or those of his associates. Paul's two tests—of having seen Jesus Christ and of having enjoyed success in the lives of men—gave to Wesley's ministry a sanction which he reckoned abundantly sufficient.

The most startling example of Wesley's readiness to make his own precedents is his solemn consecration of Thomas Coke to be a Superintendent of the Church in America. The difficulty there was of old standing. Ecclesiastically, the American Colonies were a fragment of the diocese of London,[2] and though, from Laud's time onwards, proposals had been agitated for securing a local episcopate, nothing had been done. Native clergy could not, of course, be ordained without the long and costly voyage to

the sacrilege and impiety of those who presume to invade the office ministerial." A certain Dr. MacSparran, in a book on *The Enormity of Lay Reading*, says that for a layman to offer Public Prayer " is in the Christian Church the same transgression against the Lord that offering incense on the altar was in the Jewish."

[1] Simon, *Revival of Religion*, etc., p. 238.

[2] Dr. Coleman's *History of the American Church*, p. 34.

England, and thus the Anglican Church tended to fall behind its rivals.[1] Thackeray's account of the situation [2] has a clear element of historical truth. "There being no Church of England bishop as yet in America, the colonists were obliged to import their divines from the mother country. Such as came were not, naturally, of the very best or most eloquent kind of pastors. Noblemen's hangers-on, insolvent parsons who had quarrelled with justice or the bailiff, brought their stained cassocks into the Colony, in the hopes of finding a living there." A parson of a better type than this writes in 1766 : [3] "The Dissenters very well know that the sending of a bishop would contribute more to the increase of the Church here than all the money that has been raised by the venerable Society" (i.e. for the Propagation of the Gospel). After the War of Independence, things grew worse.[4] The clergy had largely been British partisans, and they fled the country when the fight went against their cause. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel withdrew its missionaries from what was now a foreign country, and thus a host of people were left without ministry or sacraments. A time of grave confusion ensued, when rules

[1] Coleman (p. 15) quotes a report of date Sept., 1703 : "The poor Church has nobody upon the spot to confirm or comfort her children, nobody to ordain several that are willing to serve, were they authorised, for the work of the ministry. Therefore they fall back into the herd of the Dissenters."

[2] *The Virginians*, Chap. v. A good example of this is the ministry in Jamaica of Dr. Wolcot (Peter Pindar).

[3] Coleman, p. 36.

[4] Balleine's *History of the Evangelical Party*, p. 34.

were broken with a bad conscience. Multitudes had been converted under Whitefield's preaching, of whom many would gladly have remained attached to the Church of England, but they had no guidance given them, and with their eager, new piety, they readily fell in with all sorts of experiments [1] which were then suggested. These, certainly, were reckless, and ignorant enough. In 1774, the Baptists in Virginia set apart three of their ministers to be "apostles," whatever they meant by that. The Methodist converts,[2] in the absence of regular ministers, clamoured for the administration of sacraments by the lay preachers, and one of these men—Strawbridge,—without any authority except from his own immediate unit of the Church, began to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper. In Delaware, the Wesleyans began to ordain one another.[3] Wesley, who hated disorder of every kind, appealed to the Bishop of London to ordain men for this ministry in America, but his request, probably with good reason, was refused. Here, then, was a situation of intense gravity; a region half won for Christ was, as he fancied, in danger of being lost again through the hampering influence of forms. Wesley had long ago become convinced that, in the New Testament, bishop and presbyter are different names for the same official. "I firmly believe," he says, "that I am a Scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England," but if any other bishop had accepted responsibility,

[1] Coleman, p. 36.
[2] Findlay, *Wesley's World Parish*, pp. 17, 34.
[3] Coleman, p. 57.

Wesley would have held his hand. "If any one will point out a more rational and Scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it." But he was not willing to have work arrested out of deference for a formula, so, in his own name, he issued letters of ordination in favour of Dr. Thomas Coke, one of his clerical helpers. "Know all men that I, John Wesley,[1] think myself providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to His glory, I have this day set apart as a Superintendent by the imposition of my hands and prayer (being assisted by other ordained ministers), Thomas Coke, a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work; and I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty four.—JOHN WESLEY." In connexion with this daring act, many questions may be raised. If one goes back to the apostolic precedents, he may ask why the lay preachers should not have dispensed the sacraments at the call of the Christian community. Canon Overton[2] justly inquires, "If bishops and priests are of the same order, what was the object of one priest laying his hands upon a brother priest? What could Wesley confer upon

[1] Southey's *Wesley*, Chap. XXVI.

[2] *John Wesley* ("Leaders of Religion Series"), p. 201.

Coke, which Coke might not equally well have conferred upon Wesley ? " The Americans themselves, impatient of refinements, dubbed the new Superintendents bishops, which Wesley had never intended them to be. " How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called bishop ? I shudder at the very thought. Men may call me a knave, a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content ; they shall never, with my consent, call me bishop," so he wrote to Asbury,[1] Coke's colleague in office. Yet his own action had been pre-eminently episcopal, and could only be justified by the presence in him of the feeling that he was not merely one of a brotherhood of equal authority, that, by God's call and providence, he had been exalted to the position of Pope or spiritual father in a widely extended spiritual house. But, in view of our present argument, the fundamental question is suggested by a criticism of Charles Wesley's. Two months after Coke's consecration, Dr. Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen as the first bishop for America, on which occurrence Charles Wesley writes : [2] " Had our people had patience a little longer, they would have seen a *real* bishop in America, consecrated by three Scotch bishops." Now it may be asked, what is it that constitutes reality in a matter of this sort ? In point of technical correctness, it is not for us to impeach the validity of the consecration of Dr. Seabury, that good man ; [3]

[1] Quoted by Overton (*John Wesley*, p. 202).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

[3] It was only in 1789, five years after his consecration, that the General Convention of the Church agreed to recognize it as valid.

but in the spiritual things, in the knowledge of Christ, in the fruitfulness of ministry, in a sort of knight-errantry which carried Christ's kingdom into new territories, in the power to quicken and regulate Churches, Coke and Asbury were no whit behind him.[1] A man may prove himself a *real* general and may baffle gorgeous creatures in epaulets and feathers, though he has had no formal training and commands a militia of raw farmers. In name and in form, Seabury was a bishop and the others were not ; but in point of *reality*, the one can only be distinguished from the others in the sense in which Peter and James were distinguished from Paul as real apostles. Paul would contentedly have claimed Coke as a bishop and apostle after his own pattern, however irregular the mode of his creation might appear. The only reality for which Paul cared was the reality of a divine call, which may come through ecclesiastical channels or apart from these. William Booth was a thousand times more a *real* bishop (though he never bore the name) than hosts of ineffective persons who have worn the mitre.[2] Paul asked for two

[1] For Coke's character, see Findlay, *Wesley's World Parish*, pp. 15, 21. " He possessed the imagination and audacity of the old sea rovers." " He recked nothing of ease and honour." " Quickly roused, he was as quickly appeased ; ' often would he stand corrected, and *he could beg pardon with peculiar grace.*' "

[2] Mr. G. W. E. Russell describes Canon Liddon (*Liddon*, p. 166) standing before the portrait of a bewigged and bloated prelate, and exclaiming, " How singular to reflect that *that person* was chosen in the Providential order to connect Mr. Keble with the Apostles ! " Russell elsewhere (p. 86) speaks of " the fundamental difference between an Apostolic priesthood and a man-

things in an apostle—the sight of Christ, and the proved ability to help other men to see Him, and where he found these present he brushed other defects aside. Nothing is so proud as a fact, and all objections taken *a priori* must go down before it. "It has been observed," says Robert Barclay,[1] speaking of another matter of dispute, "that God hath effectually in this day converted many souls by the ministry of women, and by them hath frequently comforted the souls of His children, *which manifest experience puts the thing beyond all controversy*." Dr. Inge[2] says that "the communicant who believes only in an individual relation between Christ and separate persons, or in 'an invisible Church,' does not understand the meaning of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and can hardly be said to participate in it." It may be questioned if, in strictness, any such communicant exists; but even if that objection be waived, there remains the wealth of devout experience actually enjoyed at the Lord's Table by people whose conceptions of the Church are stunted and ill thriven. There are many things in the world of the spiritual life which, according to our technical rules, ought not to happen, and yet, by the grace of God to men, they do; and if we are wise, we shall pay homage not to the rules, which thus are

made ministry." Many people will discover the really "man-made ministry" in the system which makes "that person" and his like indispensable. The truly Apostolic priesthood is so entirely of God's making, that it is free to appear, and does appear in many forms.

[1] *Apology*, p. 328. [2] *Christian Mysticism*, p. 256.

proved at fault, but to the actual facts of the case. In the growing Church, as we have seen, expedients of many kinds have been caught up, by no means all of them well devised, or worthy of being preserved; but what appears throughout is the glorious freedom with which God acknowledges the most diverse types of ministry. What He has cleansed, what He has made effective, that is not to be disparaged as alien and improper.

2. *Ecclesia constituta.* In a settled Church, the day of expedients and makeshifts is supposed to be over; the Church now knows what her work involves, and considerations of propriety and convenience, born of her experience, must be allowed to have force. Certain arrangements have been found so enormously helpful, or they may appear so plainly appropriate, that they pass on without modification from age to age, until Christian people think of them as indispensable. But no degree of convenience or propriety can ever mount up to the pitch of necessity; it certainly can never create any *exclusive* standard of validity. What was proved to be a true channel of grace in the time of experiment does not become obstructed simply because experiments are no longer being made. As the tradition now is richer, there naturally are fewer questions to be answered by individual inspirations, but that implies, on the other side, a new danger of inattention to the voice of Christ, who has not ceased to speak within His Church. "He called Himself not the custom but the Truth," says Tertullian; and in a changing world, where institutions are always less than ade-

quate to the human requirement, there is always need of the fresh eye and the prompt and resolute courage, by which custom may be corrected, or supplemented, or dismissed.

Paul was no lover of disorder. Though himself an evangelist rather than a pastor, he ordained office-bearers and exhorted his converts to pay them honour (I Thess. 5 [12, 13]). In First Corinthians he makes it plain that unless things be done " in comely fashion and according to order " there will be little edification (I Cor. 14 [40]). When the Corinthian Church proposed to be a law to itself, he was content to remind its members that " we have no such custom nor have the Churches of God " (I Cor. 11 [16]; cf. 14 [36]). That on the one side; but with no less stringency he admonished the Thessalonians not " to quench the Spirit," or " treat prophesyings as of no account " (I Thess. 5 [19, 20]). His ideal of Church rule, that is to say, lay somewhere between the military rigour of Macedonia and the democratic licence of Corinth. He contemplated an order sober, seemly, Christian, but with ample room within it for fresh discoveries and inspirations. The institution, however wisely controlled, is not to stand in the way of what is primary—the revelation of God to the individual soul.

In many of the pioneers and originals in religious history the same combination may be discerned. Experience has proved beyond debate how dependent men are upon the life of the community, and how much they owe to the habits which prevail within it. " We should err profoundly," says Dr. George

Steven,[1] "if we thought that men rose into the presence of God independently of the Church. Our first thought of God came from the Church, that portion of it which we call the home; our emotions, our actions have all been shaped and fashioned by the Church. The whole complicated fabric of our mental life has been the creation of the Christian community. Only through our dependence on our fellows do we at last reach out to independence. At first, we lean heavily on men in order that we may, at last, lean only on God." One who has had the apostolic advantage of seeing a Christian Church arise in the midst of a heathen population bears witness [2] that "the Roman Catholic doctrine, however misapplied, is not at bottom false. We may almost say in a far deeper sense than that originally intended—there is no salvation outside of the Church." The mere habit of worshipping together and especially of sharing in the Lord's Supper is a continual rebuke to anything like atomism in religion. "We, being many, are one loaf, one body; for we all partake of the one loaf" (I Cor. 10 [17]).[3] This witness of experience must be borne in mind if we are to understand the

[1] *Psychology of the Christian Soul*, p. 283.

[2] Campbell Moody, *Saints in Formosa*, p. 244.

[3] Cf. *Didaché*, IX.: "as this broken bread was once scattered as corn over the hills, and was gathered and became one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thine own Kingdom." Robert Hawker (in an address to his people dated 1843): "Let us remember that, as a multitude of grains of wheat are mingled into one loaf, so we, being many, are intended to be joined together into one in that holy sacrament of the Church of Jesus Christ."

emphasis which is often laid by men like Luther and Wesley upon the power and the authority of the community. "It might become a great scandal if the Lord's Supper were handed about in different houses," says Luther;[1] "in the long run it would do much harm, causing divisions and creating sects. . . . The early Christians did not partake of the sacrament in their own homes, but all came together to do so . . . and Paul condemns those who wish to partake of it without tarrying for one another. And no one can baptize himself. For these sacraments belong to the Church, and must not be mixed up with the duties devolving on the head of a house." That is dogmatic enough, but it is necessary to observe that the question which Luther here considers is purely one of order. The danger in view was that of division, it was not that the sacrament would be invalid. He was determined that German Protestantism should not, if he could hinder it, become a swarm of competitive sects, but a strong and well-ordered community. But there is apparent in all his advice about the Church a glorious indifference to matters external or accidental. Wherever he could, he let old usages remain, on the distinct understanding that they were of no account. To one bewildered parson he writes:[2] "If your lord, the

[1] *Letters*, p. 336. Principal Shairp, a layman, shocked A. K. H. B. by maintaining that "he had as much right to give the Holy Communion as any minister, and that he would willingly give it to anyone who would receive it" (*Twenty-Five Years of St. Andrew's*, II. p. 275).

[2] *Letters* (Currie's translation), p. 379.

Margrave and Elector, allows you to preach the gospel of Christ purely, without man's additions, and permits the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper according to Christ's appointment . . . then, in God's name, go round in the processions carrying a silver or a gold cross, and a cowl or surplice of velvet, silk or linen. And if one of these be not enough, then put on three, as Aaron the High Priest did, each more beautiful than the other. And if your Lord, the Elector, be not satisfied with one procession, then go round seven times, as Joshua did round Jericho. . . . For *such things, if not abused, neither add to nor take from the Gospel, but they must never be regarded as necessary nor made a matter of conscience.*" These last clauses are vital. The Church, in her tradition and her practice, has a host of things at which a wise man will smile even whilst he allows them;[1] but nothing is indispensable except the maintenance of the open way of access for sinful man to the God of grace.

In Wesley there is found the same combination of insistence that things be done within the Church in orderly fashion, with the unwavering recognition that all which matters most lies beyond and below the forms. Alongside of a searching passage bearing on the tests of a man's vocation[2] there is set the peremptory rule that "no candidate for the ministry be received who does not possess a fair acquaintance

[1] Luther, *Letters*, p. 259: "Although such ceremonials do not promote holiness, still they arrest the attention of coarser natures."

[2] *Abridgement of Summary of Methodist Law*, p. 89.

with English Grammar, Orthography, Arithmetic, Geography and History." Both requirements are insisted on, but they are not, therefore, of equal moment. True to his Anglican training and his personal instinct for decorum, he imposed a form of ordination with the laying on of hands, in which the dignity appropriate to a settled Church and helpful to its unity is preserved; but it is not suggested that any ceremonial can be the source of a man's title. That lies beyond the Church and its ordinances, with God who chooses whom He will, and whose choice the Church can only seek to discern and to ratify. One could not imagine Wesley blundering over the relation of values as McCheyne does when he notes:[1] "A stranger started up and prayed one evening in the prayer meeting. I did not interrupt him or take notice of it, but have thought it best to forbid it. *None but ordained servants should speak in churches.*" That is to push consideration for decorum beyond the proper limit.

[1] *Memoir*, p. 275. Dr. Meikle in his interesting book, *Scotland and the French Revolution*, gives several instances of this dread of lay intervention. The Duke of Atholl of that day (p. 212) insists that an Act of Parliament is the only remedy against "meetings under the name of Sunday Schools, where the lowest of the people become teachers, and are instilling into the minds of the rising generation the most pernicious doctrines, both civil and religious." In 1708, the General Associate Synod unanimously declared that lay preaching had "no warrant from the word of God," and that any of its members who attended such services should "be subjected to the discipline of the Church." McKerrow's *History of the Secession Church*, p. 393; Meikle, p. 210.

As the Christian community has extended, becoming more various in its apprehensions of truth and in its activities, the work of the ministry has steadily grown in its requirements. Paul expected that the gifts of prophet, teacher, pastor,[1] administrator would be found in separate persons (I Cor. 12 [28]; cf. Eph. 4 [11]), though they might be united in one; but a modern minister must combine them all. For such a task it is needful that he undergo a training which, in many of its parts, may seem remote from the purposes to which his life is dedicated. It is easy to isolate certain details in the conditions of a man entering the ministry, and scornfully ask if the want of these is to be a bar to one whom God has called. Each separate branch of the Church, in view of its peculiar task, must deal with such challenges as it can, and must adjust for itself the proportion between the original call and the ecclesiastical form. Experience has shown that most men cannot work effectively without some tradition to guide them, but such traditions must never acquire an absolute title as against the urgent demands of the Spirit of God. Church rules have value so long as it is remembered that they may all of them, on reason shown, be changed. "Whilst as a general rule," says the Wesleyan Manual,[2] "candidates for the ministry should be fully accredited as local preachers, yet the

[1] Joh. Weiss (*1 Kor.*, p. 308) expands *ἀντιλήμψεις* as containing—"the care of the poor (1 Tim. 6 [2]), continuous charge of sick persons (Acts 20 [35]), and the ministering to the souls of doubting, depressed and tempted people" (Gal. 6 [1]).

[2] *Manual for Candidates*, p. 12.

door should be left open, as at present, for exceptional cases." Forgetfulness of this principle has cost all the Churches dear; when the Church of England found no place within it for the vitalizing energies of Wesley and Whitefield, and when the Wesleyans in their turn, and the Methodist New Connexion forced William Booth beyond their borders, they knew not the day of their visitation. But the same snare is laid for every settled Church; its custom so readily becomes a law past which the minds of its members can hardly range; in attending to what is usual, the Church ceases to look at what, for the moment, Christ is requiring. "All established religions tend to Pelagianism in doctrine," says Milman [1] acutely. The institution travels by its own momentum; its members live by the religion which its forms supply, and they are not encouraged to deal with God directly. A Church can, with safety, treat nothing as irremovable except the fundamental relation of the soul with the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The history of the Church in England and in Scotland furnishes two admirable examples of the varying degrees of importance of the different elements in this matter of orders. When the short-lived Presbyterian Establishment in England came to an end, John Howe refused to be received into the Episcopal Establishment by re-ordination. "In my opinion," he said to the Bishop of Exeter,[2] "I was as truly

[1] *Latin Christianity*, I. 149.

[2] Calamy, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, I. 411; R. F. Horton's *Life of Howe*, p. 76; Horne's *Popular History of the Free Churches*,

ordained as man could be by the Presbytery of Winwick." "But pray, sir, what hurt is there in being twice ordained?" said the Bishop. "Hurt, my lord! the thing is shocking. It hurts my understanding, for nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure I am a minister of Christ, and I can't begin to be a minister again." He had received the call of Christ, as he believed; the Church had acknowledged and confirmed it; and Christ Himself had been with him in his work. The Gospel had been fruitfully preached, the sacraments had, in his hands, been effectual channels of the grace of God; and he *could* not consent to a demand which treated these fundamental and revealing facts as if they were of no account. In the life of the famous Scottish preacher, Robert Bruce, there occurs a fine North Country version of the same contrast. In 1587,[1] after full trial of his gifts, Bruce was called by the General Assembly itself to the ministry; but in his heart he found a barrier, something which kept him "from

p. 174. Calamy (p. 409) tells that Howe "was ordained at Winwick in Lancashire, by Mr. C. Herle, the pastor of that church, and the ministers who officiated in the several chapels in this parish; on which account he would sometimes say that he thought few in modern times had so truly primitive an ordination, as he considered Mr. Herle as a primitive bishop." Newman, a less thorough-going thinker (*Ward's Life*, I. 110), also wished to believe that he had been a minister of Christ; but in submitting to re-ordination, he tried to console himself with the reflection that Rome had not absolutely pronounced against Anglican orders, though, clearly, by her action she ignored them.

[1] Calderwood's *History*, IV. 637–8; *Select Biographies* (Wodrow Series), I. 305.

the comfortable presence" of God, so he declined the full burden until he should make trial of whether God would bless him in his work. One day at a Communion service in St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh, he found himself deserted by the minister who was dispensing the sacrament, so that, though he was still without ordination and thus without the technical authority to administer a sacrament, "he behoved to serve the rest of the Table, or else the work must be given over. When, therefore, the eyes of the elders and the whole people were on him, and many also called out, he did go on, and celebrated the communion to the rest with such assistance and motion as had not been seen in that place before." For eleven years he continued to serve the Church by his great preaching, though without formal recognition as a minister; but when at length he consented to be inducted as minister of St. Giles's,[1] he declined ordination because he could not accept it "without proclaiming himself to have run unsent to this people these eleven years bygone." In his own words, he already had "*the material of ordination*,[2] to wit the approbation of all the ministry, and had already celebrated the communion which was not, by a new ordination, to be made void." "I rest upon my inward warrant," he said[3] to James VI, who always loved to intermeddle. In so many chapters of our Scottish story, pedantry is matched with pedantry, that one rejoices here to find insight matched with insight; for when my own Presbytery of Edinburgh was

[1] Calderwood, v. 714.
[2] *Select Biographies*, i. 306.
[3] Calderwood, v. 715.

called to judge of the matter, "the whole brethren, being present, gave their resolute answer without contradiction that they had acknowledged and do acknowledge him to be a lawful pastor of the said Kirk, by whom God in His mercy has wrought effectually in the said pastoral charge, and by whose travail the whole Kirk and themselves have received great comfort." [1] That was a notable decision in favour of reality as against form. Bruce had so dispensed the sacrament as to raise the hearts of the whole assemblage; that is to say, God's Spirit in its reality had been with him, so that any formal token or invocation of it in the laying on of hands was clearly superfluous. *God* had anointed him; and, after Paul's example, he would not ask for any further seal. "He had received the material of ordination."

The question has been raised as to how far Paul's attitude changed as he grew older. Certainly in the later Epistles, the community holds an increasing place in his thought. As presented in them, the Christian life is markedly a social life, for completeness of living involves the society of other men (e.g. Col. 3^{12-17}; Eph. 4^{16}, 5^{19}, 6^{18}, etc.). For such a change in accent various reasons may be suggested. At Ephesus and at Corinth, he had enjoyed a longer experience of pastoral work than ever before, and thus he had come to a better understanding of all that Christian living requires. He was growing older,[2] too, and therefore, like all the best men, he

[1] Calderwood, v. 718.

[2] Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 63: "Such memories might well lead St. Paul to use language capable of giving encourage-

grew less polemical and one-sided. There was also a perceptible cooling of his apocalyptic fervours (though note Phil. 4 [5]) ; it seemed to him less certain than before that he would be alive and at work when the Lord returned, and thus his thought was diverted into other tracks. But though the change in emphasis is indisputable, there is no abating in his assertion of the fundamental things. Still he calls himself "an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God" (Eph. 1 [1], Col. 1 [1]). He declares that he "was made a minister according to the gift of the grace of God" (Eph. 3 [7]). That, in his view, was "the material part" ; and in order that for all men it might stand out clear that his apostolate was of God's making, he refused to lay any stress on formalities at Antioch [1] or elsewhere. The beginning, as he felt, was not there.

This type of ministry whose call and whose equipment are of God is one which is able to stand alone and justify itself apart from any ecclesiastical recognition.[2] Lives are changed by it, grace is conveyed,

ment even to fanatical Anabaptists. But it is significant that the boldest claims on behalf of liberty all occur in the *earlier* Epistles." Dr. Inge seems to feel that even for an Apostle it is well to get his wild oats sown early.

[1] Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 98) says : "Paul's conversion may be said in some sense to have been his call to the Apostleship. But the actual investiture, the completion of his call, as may be gathered from St. Luke's narrative, took place some years later at Antioch" (Acts 13 [2]).

[2] John Owen, *Sermons* : "As it was with a poor man who took a dead body and set it up, and it fell, and he set it up again, and it fell ; upon which he cried out, *Oportet esse aliquid intus*,—'There wants something within.'"

truth is brought home, characters are built up; whereas the ministry which depends *merely* upon a formality cannot be redeemed or even made respectable; so no question should be raised as to which possesses the essential quality. The primary fact in a true ministry is the personal call of Jesus Christ; and any formal investiture in name of the community, however suitable and however fortifying it may be, must always be treated as secondary and subordinate. It is not by churchly forms that ministers of Christ are made; and the witness of history is clear that it is not on these that the conveyance of His grace to His servants can depend.

CHAPTER VI

CHRIST THE WHOLE OF CHRISTIANITY

"Without all controversy the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions and divisions of the Christian world hath been by adding other conditions of Church communion than Christ hath done."—JOHN HOWE.

WITH the third Chapter Paul makes a new beginning in his argument. Hitherto he has dealt with his own experience and all that it implied, but now he makes appeal to the experience of his friends; for they, also, had enjoyed the vision of Jesus Christ by which men are delivered from the tyranny of human opinion.

It had been pressed upon them in Paul's absence that, whilst their faith in Christ might be good as a beginning, it must be supplemented and fortified by formalities of another kind. The distinction between Paul and those who maintained this view was essentially that which exists between the Evangelical and the so-called Catholic of to-day. On both sides, the necessity of faith in Christ is acknowledged; and on both sides, it is recognized that the continuance of faith in the world depends on its being embodied in a society, with forms and

customs and an education appropriate, under whose influence the new generation may grow up. Sir James Stephen [1] bears witness that the Evangelical Party, in the days of "the Clapham Sect," had "a hardy, serviceable and *patrimonial* religion," a religion which did not die with each generation but was handed on from father to son. The historian of the Evangelical Party [2] finds it suggestive that the great poem of that school was written round a "Sofa," for "essentially this was the religion of the Home. Family life, family joy, family worship were its interests." So resolute a Protestant as Dr. Oman admits that "the hard shell which the kernel itself will one day burst may at a certain stage be a necessary protection," for religion is not merely an individual concern. Whilst on the Catholic side, Newman [3] allows that "a personal hold upon Christ is the immediate evidence of divine truth to every Christian"; but he continues: "I consider that the Lover of souls has not felt it safe for our poor nature to have no other safeguard for our faith than this. Religious experiences, when right, do come from God; but Satan can counterfeit them, and men who have professed the most beautiful things have often slipped away, not only into one or other form of misbelief, but into scepticism and infidelity. . . . Here it is that I see the wisdom and mercy of God in setting up a Catholic Church for the protection of His elect children."

[1] *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography,—The Clapham Sect.*
[2] Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party*, p. 75.
[3] Ward's *Life of Newman*, II. 394.

The contrast of Church and individual is not, as we have already seen, absolute; it is a contrast in point of tendency or proportion. Montaigne's objection to the Reformed worship was that it seemed "too immaterial and contemplative for a creature bound up with a body as man is"; and the objection finds ample support in the record of those whose religion, in a time of intellectual or moral perplexity, has collapsed, because it was not sufficiently stiffened or buttressed by devout custom. On the other hand, anyone who has seen the degradation possible in a religion of forms will sympathize with the protest of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, against "that drowsy and muddy spirit of superstition, which is fain to set some idol at its elbow, something that may jog it and put it in mind of God." In our day, as in Paul's, the divergence in intention may not be great, but the tendencies are constantly at work; and there still are those "who would pervert the gospel of Christ," by raising that which is secondary and of advantage to the rank of what is primary and essential, and thus the ancient protest needs to be renewed.

The one society which could appeal to the imagination of these new-made Christians was the commonwealth of Israel. "To them pertaineth the sonship," says Paul himself (Rom. 9 [4, 5]), "and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the worship, and the promises; theirs are the fathers, and of them, as concerning the flesh, Christ came." "God's gifts and calling are not to be withdrawn," he says again (Rom. 11 [29]); and thus the promises

still seemed to hover about that favoured people. He acknowledges that to be a Gentile was, at least in point of feeling, to be "a stranger and an outlander," [1] a man with no rights of citizenship (Eph. 2 [19]). To be apart from Christ, he said, was to be "shut out from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise" (Eph. 2 [12]), for the Church was conceived of ideally under the aspect of a new Israel (so James 1 [1], etc.). The snare of all such imaginative language [2] is that dull men interpret it in the letter; and it is not surprising that these ignorant converts, starting out on an obscure and much-contested path, should exaggerate the advantage of being definitely attached to a community of which such glorious things could be spoken.

There may have been other forces pushing them in the same direction. Though they had been Gentiles, Paul speaks of them as having been under law (Gal. 4 [5]), and desiring to be under it again (4 [21]); he describes them as *turning back* to the weak and beggarly elements (4 [9]). These phrases may be explained in two ways. Sir William Ramsay,[3] e.g., insists that their native religion had been marked by a ritual so elaborate as to make their lapse into Judaism something like a reversion to type. "The

[1] *Πάροικος*, which is the Greek rendering in the LXX of the Hebrew *Gêr*.

[2] How captivating and inspiring the imagination was to Paul himself appears in such sayings as Phil. 3 [3], Rom. 9 [6], Gal. 3 [7], and, more triumphantly, Gal. 4 [26].

[3] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 395.

whole system with its prophets, priests, religious law, punishments for infractions of the ceremonial law, warnings and threats, and the set of superstitious minutiæ presented a remarkable and real resemblance in external type to the old Jewish ceremonial and religious rule." On the other hand, Dr. Jowett [1] suggests that they had come to Christ through "a more or less strict proselytism," for Judaism was "a schoolmaster bringing men to Christ, not in idea only but in fact"; and certainly such phrases as $3^{13, 14, 24}$, 4^{5}, etc., suggest that these Galatian converts had had more than an ideal and imaginative interest in Jewish practice. In recent years, by Schürer, Lake,[2] and others, attention has been called to the important part played in the growth of the Church by those who were called "the God-fearers" [3] (e.g. Acts $13^{16, 26}$). These were not proselytes in the stricter sense, but the material from which proselytes were made, the class of interested and reverent people who hung about the synagogues, inquiring but not deeply committed. "They adopted the Jewish form of worship," says Schürer, "with its monotheism and absence of images; they frequented the Jewish synagogues, but confined themselves with regard to the ceremonial law to certain cardinal points." From them the Jews had been accustomed to draw their recruits,

[1] *St. Paul's Epistles to Galatians, etc.*, i. 115 (3rd edition).

[2] *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 37–40, where the conclusions of Schürer in his 4th edition are summarized.

[3] *σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν* (Acts 16^{14}, 18^{7}), *φοβούμενοι τ. Θ.* (Acts $10^{2, 22, 35}$, etc.); Cornelius (Acts 10^{2}) is the noblest of the class.

and amongst them Paul now found his readiest success ; and it is interesting to note that at Antioch (which, according to the South Galatian theory, was the first visited of the Galatian cities), Paul's address in the synagogue began : " Ye men of Israel and ye that fear God " (Acts 13 [16, 26]), and that it was from the latter class that he gained a welcome. Dr. Jowett's view is to be preferred as more fully in harmony with Paul's words, but either view may explain the bent which these Galatian converts showed towards a type of religion more " corporeal " than that which he had taught them. To this may be added a consideration common to all simple peoples, for whom religion is not primarily a matter of the heart, but one of the external properties of camp, or tribe, or nation, so that when they think of adopting another nation's worship, they fancy they are bound to be attached to that nation. When David was driven by Saul out of Hebrew territory, he said (I Sam. 26 [19]), " They have driven me out this day that I should have no share in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go, serve other gods," for land and worship were conceived of as holding closely together. Dr. John Warneck [1] tells that in the Eastern Archipelago, " natives mostly reason thus, ' to adopt this new religion we must become Europeans.' " This almost universal instinct would incline the Galatians to reason, " if we are to have the faith of the God of Israel, we must accept the customs of His people." Warneck, it is true, deprecates such a use of his observation on the ground

[1] *Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 136.

that "the state of matters among a primitive people is entirely different from that with which the Apostles and their successors had to deal. The idea of a national religion binding on all members of the nation was disappearing; the individual was free to decide, independent of any national obligation, what religion he would accept." But the Apostles had not to deal in all lands alike with any single "state of matters," and Paul's report of the Galatians is that they were markedly weak in this individual independence. They moved together, if they moved at all.

Now to Paul three things were plain in regard to the Law of Israel which thus appealed to them:—

(*a*) First of all, he maintained that the Law, in its practical appeal, was precept; and throughout this Epistle he treats all law, whether Jewish or pagan,[1] as speaking with one voice, requiring one answer, and suggesting one attitude toward God, the

[1] Paul seems to make a distinction between *νόμος* = law in general, and *ὁ νόμος* = the Law of Moses (so Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 118; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 58); but the distinction has been somewhat carelessly applied by Paul or his amanuenses. Sanday and Headlam (p. 80) allow that Paul did not rigidly distinguish which sense he was using (so Gardner, *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, p. 102, 47). There are anomalous cases where the point of the verse would be better brought out if the other form were used: e.g. Gal. 2 [19], *διὰ νόμ. νόμ. ἀπέθανον* ought to be *διὰ τοῦ νόμ.*—"the typical law put me out of conceit with all law"; Rom. 2 [14], *ἔθνη τα μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα*—they *are* under a law and admit it; they have not the written law; Gal. 6 [13] should be *τὸν νόμον*. J. H. Moulton (*Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 86) says in another connexion: "The question must be passed on from the grammarian to the exegete."

Giver of it. There could be no exceptions or limitations, and so long as these continue, a man must stand condemned before God. This does not mean that, in Paul's view, every precept was of equal importance. He knew his way too well in the tangled paths of Jewish controversy to fall into such an error. The rabbis "did not consider the whole law as of equal importance," says Dr. Schechter,[1] "but made a difference between laws and laws, and even spoke of certain commandments, such as those of charity and kindness, as outweighing all the rest of the Torah. In times of great persecution, the leaders of the people had no compunction in reducing the whole law to the three prohibitions of idolatry, of incest and of bloodshed." With such a teaching Paul would have had no quarrel; only when the limits of the law were laid down, they must be adhered to. The law was an external code, given for obedience, and as such it must be complied with.

The complaint has been made that, in regarding the Law as precept, Paul led the way in a course of misrepresentation. The Torah, it is urged, was not only precept but revelation; it was an expression of God's nature as well as of His will. Mr. Travis Herford[2] quotes the saying of a rabbi that if the Torah were precept only, it would begin with the first direct injunction, that is at Exodus 12[2]; but it includes the story of Creation, and the choice of Abraham, and all the exhibition which the Book of Genesis offers of the manifold ways of God. And

[1] *Studies in Judaism*, p. 304.
[2] *Pharisaism*, p. 75.

these are not surplusage, they are of the substance, so that the enjoining parts of the Torah take their place within a body of revelation. God Himself comes near; and in obedience to any of His commands, it is possible for a man to touch Him. Every added precept was "an opportunity given in the sheer kindness of God, for man to do his Maker's will." [1] There might thus be something sacramental in obedience; the matter of the precept passed out of sight, and only the chance of pleasing God, and such a God, was considered. Men's faces glowed as they pored over the pages of the Law; and it is expressly told of one Jewish saint—Elijah Wilna [2]—that "the effect wrought on him by his study was the same as when he was praying." Weber [3] accumulates from many quarters sayings in praise of Torah, how it is "a possession which moves the envy of the angels," "it brings a man to the life of the world to come," it is nothing less than "the wells of salvation."

This richer conception of the Law is prepared for by what we find even in the Old Testament. The word *mishpat*, e.g. (statute or judgment) which, in 2 Kings 17 [26-8], means nothing more than the ceremonial etiquette of a religion, appears in Isaiah 42 [4] with the nobler sense of religion itself.[4] The task of the Lord's Servant, says the prophet, is "to

[1] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 104.

[2] Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 104.

[3] *System der Altsynagog. Paläst. Theologie*, p. 24.

[4] Cheyne (Isaiah 42 [4]) compares the various force of the Arabic *dîn*, which means a statue or a system of statutes, and a religion.

establish mishpat—the true religion—in the earth." It has been suggested that our Lord, in using the phrase "the law and the prophets," deliberately intended to convey this richer meaning of revelation; and certainly both Paul and John refer, with utmost frankness, to every part of the Old Testament literature as "the law," so that we need not imagine that Paul was unaware of the wider usage of the word, or denied its legitimacy.[1] But he had one advantage over some of the scholars who criticize him, that he had actually lived under a legal system which affected the life of a whole nation; and thus he knew that, whilst these ideal elements were in the background, the Law, when it came to business, was a body of precepts.

(*b*) The second note which may be made is that Paul acknowledged the Law not as a loose handful of rules and customs, of which one or two might arbitrarily be singled out and observed, whilst the others were ignored; it was a unity and a system. "I testify again to every man who is letting himself be circumcised that he becomes bound to do the whole law" (Gal. 5 [3]). He would not have set any other precept forward in the same prominence, but circumcision, in its very nature, stood apart; it was

[1] In Rom. 3 [19], John 10 [34], 15 [25], the *Psalms* are quoted as "the Law"; in 1 Cor. 14 [21], the *Prophets*; in 1 Cor. 14 [34], the *history*. In Rom. 3 [31], law = the whole Jewish religion (Denney, *Expos. Greek Test.*); in John 12 [34], "law" covers not the Old Testament only but the additions and inferences which went to form tradition.

a rite of initiation by which a man was received into the Jewish community, and thus came under its binding laws. If anyone becomes a naturalized Frenchman, his boys, growing up in France, must serve in the army; if he is to share in the advantages, he must submit to the burdens. These Galatian converts must not imagine that, so far as suited them, they could be Israelites, whilst, for the rest, they might do as they liked. This is the lesson which M. Loisy [1] so powerfully reports in his autobiography: "the Church had to teach me by violent and repeated blows that a priest has no right to be only half a Catholic; his thought no longer is his own, just as his will is not his own." The principle is common to societies of many kinds, and it commends itself as being both reasonable and fair. But behind that general principle there lay another of somewhat narrower application. Many societies, offering substantial benefits to their members, have realized in the course of years that they can do so only by maintaining their peculiarities unabated. They may not assert that these are vital *in themselves*, but only in relation to the purpose and the efficiency of the society. The Janissaries in the old Turkish army were an almost matchless force. They were recruited from the best of the Christian population in the empire, and sternly trained for war; they were forbidden to marry, so that their whole interest and ambition were concentrated upon their own order. But one Sultan allowed them to marry, another opened the ranks

[1] *Choses Passées*, p. 82.

to Turks as well as Christians ; and though neither change might seem disastrous, they altered the character of the order, which became in time simply one force amongst many, and thus its glory departed. A group of students in a Scottish University used to gather, in conditions of Spartan plainness, for the discussion of absolutely philosophical problems. Their meetings gained a name, and candidates came knocking at the door, seeking rather for good talk than for the technicality of philosophy. They were admitted and brought a new spirit with them ; the conditions grew less austere, the talk more general. Perhaps the club still had its uses, but it was a different institution ; and silently the older men forsook it. In abating the original conditions, which were never set forward as unalterable, they had forfeited the objects of the club's foundation. There are many High Anglicans who honestly desire fellowship with devout men in other communions. They feel that in such a fellowship they would have much to receive as well as to give, but they also feel that on a host of questions which the others reckon trivial they *cannot* compromise. The Church, as they conceive it, is fraught with incalculable blessing for the men within it, but that blessing depends upon its retaining in fullness its separate and sacramental character. When it was suggested to Liddon that the eastward position at the altar, e.g., was a matter for negotiation and concession, he hotly answered, " That is doctrinal : that is most important " ; and with his thought of the Church he, no doubt, was right. Now in the same way, any Jew,

who knew the later history of his religion, was obliged to maintain every point of its peculiarity. Mr. Travis Herford, in his ingenious advocacy for Pharisaism, has elaborated this idea with real force.[1] "The Pharisees looked out across the barrier which separated them from the Gentile, not without the hope and desire that all men might be saved, but unable to see how that could be brought about except by the coming of the Gentile within the lines of the Torah. To obliterate these lines was, to them, unthinkable. It would be to renounce the very blessing for the sake of which they desired that the Gentiles should come in." The founder of that intransigent Judaism was Ezra, who carried the policy relentlessly through. He insisted on the divorcing of foreign wives, and cleared the city of everything that threatened the purity of Israel's witness; and the historian of to-day acknowledges that thus he saved Judaism. Its function in the world could be discharged only by a people dwelling apart, and its whole force and virtue would have disappeared, if any course of small concessions had been pursued. The Law would have been frittered away in detail; and Ezra's service to his nation was in demanding that the Law should stand as a system. That conception lies behind Paul's argumentation also. If the distinctiveness of the Jewish religion were diluted by the influx of habits and fashions from without, if the Law were modified to suit the convenience or the idleness of men, then there would be nothing left.

[1] *Pharisaism*, p. 325.

(*c*) Paul's third conviction as to the Law, at which he had arrived not by any process of reasoning but by having lived under it, was that it imposed a burden on the lives of men. When he speaks of "the curse of the law" (Gal. 3 [10, 13]), he has an authority closer and more personal than any quotation from Scripture could give; he knew it of himself. And what in another man might pass as paradox that "the law was added to increase transgression" (3 [19]), that it actually made men worse instead of better, must from him be taken as the fruit of a grim experience. Rabelais [1] says that "men who are free, well born, well bred and conversant in honest companies have naturally an instinct and a spur that prompteth them into virtuous actions and withdraweth them from vice; and this is called *Honour*. But when by base subjection they are brought under, they turn aside from that noble disposition to shake off the bond of servitude; for it is agreeable to the nature of man to long after things forbidden and to desire what is denied him." In both cases, what finds expression is not a truth of universal application, but the impulse of a peculiarly vigorous individuality. "I should not have known sin but for the Law," says Paul, speaking frankly for himself (Rom. 7 [7]); "for I should not have known evil desire, if the law had not said, Thou shalt not." In another passage of the same Epistle, he bluntly affirms that "through the Law comes the fuller knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of sin." Such statements

[1] In his account of how the Thelemites were governed, Bk. I.

are intensely personal and psychological, not true for everybody but quite terribly true for Paul himself; only we must not run to the other extreme, and imagine that they mark a narrowly individual eccentricity in the Apostle. Our Lord Jesus, who Himself stood clear from all such anguish of spirit, speaks with compassion of the people on whose shoulders lawyers were binding "heavy burdens and grievous to be borne"; and the unknown Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews gives essentially the same report of the working of the system. He comments on the routine of sacrifice as "making a remembrance of sin every year" (Heb. 10 [3]), and in a verse which labours with the sense of an unending task (10 [11]), he describes the sacerdotal drudge who "standeth daily, ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sin." The concurrence of three spirits so diverse is a fact of far greater significance as to the real mind of that age than any other witness at our disposal; and, in face of it, one can only marvel at the audacity of Mr. Travis Herford, who announces jauntily,[1] "I shall have to show that the Torah was not such as Paul represented it to be, and that it did not have the effect which he ascribed to it in the religious experience of those who lived under it." No doubt, there were two sides to the matter, but nothing can be more certain than that on many the Law did press like a crushing burden.

This appeared especially in the two extremes of the nation. On the one hand were the unlettered

[1] *Pharisaism*, p. 193.

folk who were so constantly in the thoughts of Jesus and of Paul, and to whom the Law presented itself as nothing else than a long series of demands. With the instinct of a historian, Dr. T. R. Glover [1] makes this point clear: "Modern Jews resent the suggestion that the thousand and one regulations as to ceremonial purity, and the casuistries, as many or more, spun out of the law and the traditions, ranked with the great commandments. . . . No doubt, they are right; but it is noticeable that in practice, the common type of mind is more impressed with minutiæ than with principles. The Southern European of to-day will do murder on little provocation, but to eat meat in Lent is sin." That was what obedience meant for the common people, as Jesus lets us know. They had hard lives, and sorely needed the help of religion; but the Law, instead of bringing them power to fulfil its requirements, harassed them with unending and often meaningless demands. "I have never been able to forget an indignant answer which I got from a heathen," writes an Indian missionary.[2] "We have a religion which makes great demands upon us in money, cattle, sacrifices, and we meet these demands. We have a king who asks for money, grain, compulsory service, and we give him what he asks. We have a government which saddles us with police arrangements, and we groan and bear it all. And now you come with demands which put all the rest in the

[1] *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 131.

[2] Quoted by Warneck, *Living Forces*, p. 155.

shade. It is cruel to torture with the terrors of the law men like us who have grown up in fear and terror all their lives." This moved Jesus with indignation, and the too obvious reality of this in the life of the populace lies behind Paul's fierce words.

At the other extreme of intelligence and character was the small class of the high, mystical natures, who found themselves committed by the Law to a host of trivial duties in which they could discern no kind of congruity, and which they could only discharge with the dull submissiveness of slaves. "R. Johanan b. Zaccai, a contemporary of Jesus, was once asked what was the reason for performing all the ritual of the sacrifices and the other minutiæ of the ceremonial law. He answered: 'A corpse does not defile and waters do not cleanse, but it is a decree of the King of kings. The Holy One, blessed be He! hath said: I have ordained My statute, I have decreed my decree; and man is not entitled to transgress my decree.'"[1] That is the very extravagance of Oriental despotism, but there will always be natures, both in East and West, who find it comfortable to repose in a rule so absolute. "The first law which God ever gave to man was one of pure obedience," says Montaigne;[2] "it was a commandment naked and simple, wherein man had nothing to inquire after or to dispute, for as much as to obey is the proper office of a rational soul, acknowledging a heavenly superior and benefactor."

[1] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 105; cf. p. 162.

[2] *Apology for Raimond de Sebonde* (Cotton's translation).

"The laws keep up their credit," he says in another essay,[1] "not through being just but because they are laws; that is the mystical foundation of their authority and they have no other. . . . Whoever obeys them because they are just, does not obey them as he ought." Such unquestioning obedience, when it is offered to the decrees of a God of unsearchable wisdom, has elements of grandeur in it, but Jesus expressly called His disciples "not to be slaves but friends, for a slave does not know what his master is doing"; and it was inevitable that men, free-born, like Paul, should some day be exasperated by the host of petty formalities which were thrust upon them in the name of God's mere good pleasure. They would not grudge or stint in their obedience; but to fritter life away amongst actions and distinctions which had no look of God upon them, that was not always to be borne. And thus to Paul and to others of the same exalted nature, the Law had become a spreading shadow of gloom; and when he saw these warm-hearted Galatians turning for help to that from which he had with such difficulty escaped, he could not but protest. The true Israel, he felt, was not to be discovered in that direction. "We who worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh—it is we who are the circumcision" (Phil. 3 [3]). "The Jerusalem which is above is free, and it is she who is our mother!" (Gal. 4 [26]). These discoveries he had made about the real character and effect of the Law, and they gave

[1] *Essay of Experience.*

n calling his converts away from its

positive reason for that warning was
experience which they had them-
Paul asks them if they had
Spirit by the works of the Law or
g of faith. Did ye experience [1] so
without result?" (3[2, 3]). What, in
aracter, that experience was appears
he New Testament, and it is renewed
e missionary churches of to-day. Paul
4 [15]) of their "congratulation of them-
they seemed the happiest and most
men. "They took their food together
g gladness and with singleness of heart,
l," says Luke (Acts 2 [46-7]). "In Jesus
s Dr. Weinel,[2] "they experienced deliver-
deliverance. . . . Into their hearts He
uiet trust in the help of God, and drew
into a life of self-denial and suffering,
at the same time a life of the intensest
." "The Holy Spirit is a glad Spirit,"

t, *ad loc.*, urges that *πάσχω* could only be understood
se if the context were very clear; but Jowett (p. 142),
ion, answers that this is the case here: the context
equires the good sense. Lightfoot adduces Gal. 5 [11]
15 [32] as evidence of persecution endured by the
but neither is completely relevant. Gal. 6 [12], at most,
prudent avoidance of what might be. An excellent
f *πάσχω* in better sense is in Aristotle's phrase about
ries—*Οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ παθεῖν.*
. *im 19ten Jahrhundert*, p. 273.

says Hermas.[1] "He gave us light," says Clement; "He saved us when we were perishing. . . . Our life was nothing but death, and He pitied us, for He saw we had no hope of salvation except from Him." Epictetus exclaims:[2] "What can I, a lame old man, do other than praise God? Were I a nightingale, I should do as the nightingale does; if a swan, as the swan does; but now I am a creature endowed with reason to whom it is given to praise God; and certainly the Christian fellowship did not fall behind the Stoic saint in this rudimentary duty. Dr. Denney[3] fitly describes the tone and temper of the New Testament in calling it "the most buoyant, exhilarating and joyful book in the world."

It is true that in the earliest literature more types than one are recognizable. Of Tertullian, Dr. Gwatkin has remarked[4] that "the revelation through the Christ is no more than a law to him," and in a much wearier and more burdensome degree the same is true of the *Didaché*, which shows how rapidly the Church, in some quarters, fell from the gladness of the grace of God. Yet even in the *Didaché* some notes of singing may be heard.[5] "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, which Thou hast given us to know through Jesus Christ, Thy Son . . . We thank Thee, our Father,

[1] Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, quotes this and many other illustrative passages, pp. 166, 151, 303.

[2] I. 16 [20].

[3] *Studies in Theology*, p. 171.

[4] *The Knowledge of God*, II. 163.

[5] Chap. IX.

for the life and the knowledge which Thou hast brought to us through Jesus Thy Son." That lacks exuberance, but room is left for something more in the quaint rubric,[1] "Give permission to the prophets to give thanks as much as they please." Happily for the future of the Church, this sober outlook upon life was not universal. "Thou hast given us Thy fellowship," says one;[2] "it was not that Thou hadst need of us but that we had need of Thee . . . and there is no repentance on Thy part to repent of anything that Thou hast promised, for what Thou gavest Thou gavest freely." "He has caused me to know Himself by His simplicity . . . He became like me in order that I might receive Him . . . and I trembled not when I saw Him because He is my salvation . . . They who make songs shall sing the grace of the Lord Most High, and they shall bring their songs, and their heart shall be like the day."[3] Notes like these rang through the early Christian assemblies; and since Jesus Christ is ever the same, it is only natural that the same temper should find expression when hearts are touched by Him to-day. When a new-made Christian was asked why he had hesitated so long, he replied,[4] "I did not know that the heart was made so glad by Christianity"; and Warneck, out of his wide experience, speaks of "a surprising joyousness in prayer,"[5] and "of a power and freshness of faith that puts us older Christians to shame. God has become to them a living God to whom they commit everything; they know of no

[1] Chap. x. *ad finem.* [2] *Odes of Solomon*, IV. [3] *Ibid.*, VII.
[4] Warneck, *Living Forces*, p. 241. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 219 and 217.

limit to His power, and they rejoice in their filial standing." [1] Any large and powerful experience is bound to present itself in varying forms to different minds; but under all the diversity of phrase there is the common discovery that God, who is sole Lord of all things,[2] is a friend. Each man will explore its fullness for himself, and may speak of it in words of his own, but in its essence the experience is one, and so far as religion is concerned, it is complete. The task of religion as distinguished from that of ethics is to bring a man to God, and that is now accomplished. Something is secure, no longer subject to the vicissitudes of time and earth. The man who has attained to the knowledge of the only true God, which is life eternal, may very well become a better and more steadfast creature; he may live more worthily and understand more deeply; he may grow more patient, forgiving, unworldly, and in the service of such a God as he has discovered, this progress is not only desirable, it is demanded. But so far as the purely religious experience is concerned, he will not travel beyond his present attainment, for already, in seeing God, he knows the meaning of blessedness in this life. "The love of God is shed abroad in his heart."

The Galatians had been taught that in order to be securely Christian, they must have something more than faith; there must be acts of outward compliance in which their formal association of

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] A phrase of Tatian's, *Orat. ad Graec.*, XXIX. 7—τῶν ὅλων τὸ μοναρχικόν.

themselves with Israel might be denoted. And Paul's retort to that suggestion is contained in this imperious reference to what they had learned; was there anything outward, or formal, or even ragged and incomplete in that? In II Corinthians 4 [6], he describes conversion as like nothing else than the birth of light at the creation of the world, an act of God, astonishing and unconditioned and pure. To tack some formal stipulation on to such a miracle would be like confining the daylight to a particular form of civil government, or poetry to the membership of a particular club. The experience stands complete, mocking at conditions which arrive slow-footed and irrelevant after the deed is done. Nothing has any place in it except the grace of God and the wonder of the soul by which that grace is received.

The inner wealth of this experience is revealed in a hurrying succession of words which, from verse to verse, shift and change places, as if to show that they are virtual or vital equivalents.[1] Paul calls it redemption, justification, adoption, life, freedom,

[1] Note sequence of 3 [5, 6], where "receiving the Spirit" in v. 5 is represented by "accounted for righteousness" in v. 6; in v. 8 justify is taken as = blessed; in vv. 13–14 redemption = blessing = promise of the Spirit; in v. 21 giving life and giving righteousness are equivalents; in 4 [5] redemption and sonship come together; in 4 [7] a slave (i.e. a person unredeemed) is the antithesis of a son. Dr. W. P. Paterson (*Rule of Faith*, p. 334) summarizes Biedermann's view, "As a fact the Christian salvation is practically a single gift with a variety of aspects"; which seems to have been Paul's own view (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 351).

blessedness, the Spirit. God is the same God to all men, but He is discovered in different relations, just as this or that necessity happens to be paramount in any of His creatures. "The rich variety of the experience of salvation as Paul presents it in words which are as rich and various, is to be understood as the outbreaking at many crevices of the one beam of light—which is faith in Christ. The most important problem of research so far as the inner Paul is concerned, lies there; and the problem finds its solution when it is recognized that the various expressions are spiritually so many synonyms."[1] Such a treatment of the phrases is frowned on as slovenly by any man of severely academic mind, who would like by logic and analysis to distinguish one from another, and who, in doing so, dwells upon the image more than on the reality of experience. Gloël,[2] e.g., is impatient of the suggestion that the conceptions of blessing and of justification in the passage Gal. 3^{6-14} are in any sense synonymous; even if it is admitted that the *terms* are interchanged, the *conceptions* stand out clear of each other. The blessing promised to Abraham was the birth of a child, and it was his believing acceptance of that promise which procured his justification, and was reckoned to him for righteousness. That is an excellent example of how Paul should not be read. His was not an academic mind, and he did not hesitate to do violence to the strict sense and relevance of words if thus he might bring out the force of what did concern him. Here he chooses to let

[1] Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 96. [2] *Der Heilige Geist*, p. 96.

ch with a life and suggestion
r in his ear and in his heart,
his readers may realize how
nd various this blessing of
He is thinking of the reality,
o is concerned with the phrases,
from the line but from the level
; Gloël is engaged with matters
liminary, whilst Paul, with the
nole nature, is directed to things
ly the blessing promised to Abra-
th of a son, but Paul, in his reading
stament, had graver concerns in his
e appearance of a span-long infant.
ng of Abraham, but he was thinking
nd of all who once had groaned being
and who, by God's mercy, had found
. The Divine blessing for which he and
ts cared was the quick radiance of heart
felt where Christ has come with words of
and of which one Psalmist had exclaimed,
the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord
eth not iniquity! Oh, the blessedness of the
whose transgression is forgiven!" (Ps. 32 [1, 2]).
if Gloël, or any other literal person, had reminded
that the blessing expressly granted to Abraham
s a son, the Apostle would dryly have answered,
the Master's words—" It is the spirit that quick-
eneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

In that 32nd Psalm (vv. 3 and 4), a hint is given of the many kinds and phases of misery which accompany the stubborn retention of sin. The

author of it, accepting his sickness or calamity as retributive, found in it a sort of outward conscience which would not suffer him to forget. But the fever heats (v. 4) and the prostration of strength (v. 3) from which he suffered, were not the deepest causes of his distress, for these were found in the sense he had of a God estranged, a God not his friend ; and when the sun shone out for him once more, and health returned, he rejoiced not in the outward good, but in the persuasion that God was now treating him in another fashion, as a man forgiven. His health, his prosperity, his inward happiness and his confident outlook were simply so many parts and assurances of " the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord does not impute iniquity." Dr. Deissmann, after quoting [1] the saying in I Corinthians 1 [30], " Of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption," adds, " The congregations of Paul's gathering did not dogmatically vivisect a confession like that ; they *felt* its meaning as he did, like the jubilee of a Psalmist." And the same remark might be made upon these amazing chapters in Galatians, where mighty words slip out and in, one replacing the other ; in the people's *feeling*, and in Paul's own, that occasioned no confusion. We were sinners, they might say, but we have been pardoned ; we who were bondsmen once are now set free ; we are no longer kinless in this world, but members of God's family, with all the rights of sons ; in one word we,

[1] *Paulus*, p. 103.

who were under a curse, are now blessed with believing Abraham. These do not describe separate entities, but aspects of one vital experience, for which they were indebted to the grace of their Lord Jesus Christ.

There is a temptation in this quarter for dogmatists and logicians of every school, who love to pull to pieces things whose wonder lies in their totality, and to deal with words and images as if they were substances. "Philosophy," says Montaigne [1] with surely a measure of justice, "is poetry sophisticated. The old writers found all their authority in the poets, and the earliest of them were poets themselves. Plato is a poet with the stitching out—*un poète décousu*." And as the saints are the poets of redemption, we need not wonder to see them escaping from the divisions of technical theology, and dealing with the gift of God as one. "This work has many names," says Clement of Alexandria; [2] "it is called gift, enlightenment, perfection, baptism. What is wanting for him who knows God? The Perfect will give what is perfect." With the same variety of image Whitefield [3] characterizes the initial experience of a Christian man; "God was pleased at length to remove the heavy load, to enable me to lay hold on His dear Son by a living faith, and by giving me the spirit of adoption to seal me, as I humbly hope, unto the day of everlasting redemption." "I long to break loose," says Charles Wesley,[4] "to be devoted to God, to

[1] *Apologie de Raimond Sebonde.*
[2] *Paedag.*, I. 26, 27.
[3] Tyerman's *Life*, I. 25.
[4] Balleine, p. 19.

be in Christ a new creature." A dogmatic theologian might isolate these and treat them separately; but in experience they hold together. "What the Gospel calls salvation," says Vinet,[1] "is a moral happiness, salvation already tasted in this world, eternal life begun within the sphere of time. Eternity can only continue and complete this blessedness, which essentially consists in a feeling of the soul. . . . Those who confine the Christian joy and peace within the limits of some sentiment of personal security, of accounts settled and debts paid, have no true conception of the felicity the Gospel brings." Such passages suggest that wherever life has been pressing a man, he may find a gift prepared of God for him; to one man salvation presents itself first of all as pardon, to another as emancipation, or a new power of life, or the assurance of sonship; but these are not to be regarded as separate, but as varying manifestations of the immeasurable goodwill of God declared in Jesus Christ.

This impression is only deepened if we approach the matter on the other side, and study the words one by one in their real significance; for though each has a suggestion of its own which may be separately elaborated, yet its main interest is for experience, and when considered in this aspect, the words at once reveal their kinship with each other. If we take that first which Luther placed in the forefront, as, in spite of modern fashion,[2] I still think

[1] *Philosophie Morale*, p. 130.

[2] See an interesting statement of this modern view in Moffatt's *Paul and Paulinism.*

that Paul did, we have in *justification* a word and conception which seem to lie very much apart from our modern ways of piety. It may be taken as matter of agreement that in the Old Testament the word "to justify" is commonly used in a juridical sense. Dr. Sanday and Dr. Headlam, in their great book on Romans, note [1] that "in the LXX (O.T. and Apoc.), where the word δικαιοῦν occurs some forty-five times, it is always, or almost always, with the forensic or judicial sense." Dr. Skinner, extending his view beyond the Old Testament, reports [2] that "the forensic conception of righteousness appears to be characteristic of the Northern Semitic dialects." A judge who, by word or act, declares a man to be in the right, is said to justify him. A king who forgives an offender and restores him to his favour, again is said to justify him. In various languages,[3] a man who pays the last penalty for his crime is spoken of as justified, for the reckoning between him and the law is now clear. In each case, justification has something of the nature of a verdict, whether that finds expression in word or in deed; to justify is not to make righteous, but to declare or to treat as righteous, and in Scripture the last-named aspect is the commonest. "In the

[1] P. 31.

[2] Hasting's Dict. Bib., IV. 273.

[3] In Scots usage, a man was said to be justified on the gallows; so in German, *rechtfertigen* at one time had a bad sense = condemn, to execute judgment (see Grimm-Thayer, *Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, p. 151); and in Rom. 6 [7] the Greek word has substantially this force; "he that has died is justified (i.e. has got his discharge) from sin."

many places where the righteousness of God is referred to as an object of praise (Ps. 7 [17], 22 [31], 35 [28], etc.), it is not the abstract justice of Jehovah's dealings that calls forth adoration, but His proved readiness to help and bless His people. This aspect of righteousness may be defined as the justifying activity of God," [1] which at once brings justification down from the level of mere figures of speech or of legal abstraction, and gives it a place within the field of actual experience. This justification by the intervention of God, as a rule, was outward, but sometimes it was almost wholly inward. "The outward is equivalent to victory, health, fortune,"—a public vindication in events of man or nation. But of the inward Wellhausen says: [2] "No great thing is asked for, no material enjoyment, no compensation for the losses endured. Only a man would fain see God, and have one ray of the brightness of His grace to serve him as an absolution, to quiet his conscience under assault, and to make his innocence apparent to the world." In the last clause, the character of this vindication seems to change; from subjective it seems to become objective; and Wellhausen admits that "when the inward vindication is obscured, it must be made outward by some visible utterance of God, such as a deliverance out of danger." What is significant in all this is that justification was not thought of, first of all, as *in foro coeli*; that is a theological afterthought, which has ministered comfort to minds of

[1] Skinner in Hasting's Dict. Bib. IV. 280.
[2] *Israel. und Jüd. Geschichte*, p. 209.

a certain type. But, primarily, justification was something known and experienced, whether in "justifying activities of God" of a public sort like the Cross and the Resurrection (Rom. 4 [25]), which bear their meaning on their face, or in inward communications of His grace by which He gives to men assurance that He has a care for their souls (e.g. Rom. 5 [5]). In either case the source is in God, who by treating men as righteous declares the alienation at an end.

An erring man's first impression when he is thus dealt with by God is one of sheer wonder at this Divine magnanimity. God seems to regard him as a friend or as a son, although, in fact, he still is full of faults. Both theologians and devout men of simple mind have fastened upon this anomaly. "God deals with us by anticipation," says Dr. Gore,[1] "by anticipation of all that is to come about in us." "He accepts us, deals with us 'in the Beloved'; rating us at something of His value, imputing to us His merits, because in fact, except we be reprobates, He Himself is the most powerful and real force at work in us." [2] "He loves us, not as we are by our own deserving but as we are going to be by His gift." [3] Dr. Johannes Weiss [4] allows that justification, redemption, adoption are, in strictness, "eschatological events," belonging to that time when we shall be entirely free and shall have in fullness the temper of

[1] *Bampton Lectures*, p. 225.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 224.
[3] A decree of the Council of Orange.
[4] *Paul and Jesus*, p. 107.

God's sons, and as such Paul frequently recognizes them (e.g. Rom. 8 [23], Eph. 1 [14], 4 [30]). But, says Weiss, "Paul antedates these eschatological events," and talks as if the blessings were in immediate and actual enjoyment. That has been described as a kind of benevolent "fiction," [1] but the fact which should make us wary of such constructions is that it is not Paul who antedates the events, it is God; His love is shed abroad in the hearts of men. When their moral progress is still pitiably incomplete, He already, as they with joy and wonder recognize, is dealing with them as if they had reached the goal. The potency of that experience compelled men, almost from the first, to catechize themselves as to any possible reasons accounting for it. They reckoned that it must be for Christ's sake they were forgiven, because they somehow shared in His life and lot. But that reasoning, straightforward and inevitable as it seems, was a second stage. What had come first was a pure experience of the mercy of God, breaking in upon their hearts. *Justificatio vivificatio est*, [2]—justification is a making alive; it is a legal word for a religious experience.

[1] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 94: "All mercy, all forgiveness is of the nature of fiction. It consists in treating men better than they deserve." This is an unfortunate and not very profound saying. John (I John 1 [9]) is resolute in his assertion that God is "faithful and *righteous*" in His forgiveness. That is to say, in treating men better than they deserve, He does not treat them better than the situation, as a whole, deserves.

[2] So Dr. Lindsay summarizes the doctrine of Luther: *Hist. of Reformation*, I. 435.

There is a group of Pauline words [1]—*redeem* or *purchase* (Gal. 3 [13]), *deliver* (1 [4]), *set free* (5 [1]), in all of which, with varying sharpness of picture, the joy of emancipation is presented. "The chief streams of the Apostle's thought can be brought together in this idea. The overmastering gladness of the redeemed man, the assurance of victory in him whom God has chosen, and the consciousness of dignity in the man called to God's own lordship,—all these are contained within it." [2] Whatever the thraldom may have been (and that is conceived by Paul in many diverse ways)—whether to sin and death (Rom. 8 [2]), or to men's opinion (I Cor. 7 [23]), to the sense of God's disfavour (Gal. 3 [13]), or to this present evil world with all which that implies (Gal. 1 [4]), it is now at an end. Approaching the subject as an archæologist, Deissmann [3] has accumulated examples from Delphi and other temples of what is called "sacral manumission," in which a master, for a price paid, made over his slave to the god, "ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ for freedom." Through becoming the property of a god, the slave could pass out into the world of free men; that was one door open. In such a custom we have an admirably picturesque background for Paul's phrases; but a background is not sought for, unless there is something to throw up against it, and these words, with their pictorial human suggestion, would not have been employed if there had not first been a feeling

[1] Beyschlag (*N.T. Theol.*, II. 157) frankly takes ἀπολυτροῦν, ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐξαιρεῖν (Gal. 1. [4]), ἀγοράζειν as synonymous.

[2] Weiss, *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 6.

[3] *Light from the East*, pp. 327–8; *Paulus*, pp. 100–101.

of enlargement which was demanding expression. "There can scarcely be found in the world a joy equal to this feeling of expansion and of motion," says Dr. Percy Gardner.[1] "It is almost like the acquisition of a new sense, or the entry into a new world. It is like what one can imagine the feeling of a fish to be, if he has been left by the tide in a land-locked pool, and begins to feel the flow of the returning waters; or what we can suppose to be the delight of the dragon fly, when he shuffles off the skin of his life in the pool and feels his wings expanding for flight." We have already (Chap. I.) seen how familiar in that age this demand and dream of liberty was; but Johannes Weiss, in exhibiting the extent of the kinship between the Stoic thought on this point and Paul's, makes the significant admission[2] that "what in Stoicism was a demand and an ideal, in the preaching of the Apostle became an experience." The Christian converts did not find in themselves any immediate abolishing of sin, but they did find such an expansion of the powers of life as made all things seem possible. As Weinel puts it, "They *experienced* redemption."

In this Epistle, Paul repeatedly (2 [19], 3 [21], 5 [25]; cf. Rom. 7 [9]; John 17 [3]) describes the supreme gift of God to His creatures as that of *life*, a word which stands so free from theological implications, and so directly in the line of experience as to require little interpretation; but two significant notes may be allowed. The first of these is that Paul treats life—

[1] *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, p. 38.
[2] *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 11.

a life full, and satisfying, and worthy of the name, as directly equivalent to what he calls "righteousness"; it is the evidence of a right standing with God, the sufficient token of His goodwill. "If there had been a law given which could *make alive*, then, certainly, *righteousness* would have been by that law" (Gal. 3 [21]). The other note is not characteristic of Paul alone, but is frequently suggested by John (e.g. 6 [51, 53, 54]; I John 3 [14]), and, what is of more importance, it appears in the Synoptic record of the words of the Lord Himself (Mt. 7 [14], 18 [8], 19 [17]; Mark 9 [43, 45]). When Jesus said, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life," or "If thou wouldst enter into life," He pointed to something which included in itself all that is intended by salvation, both present and future, and immortality is contained as a necessary implication. In John 6 He twice over announces Himself (vv. 35 and 48) as "The bread of life," but with a significant change in the consequent. In the one case (v. 35) He says that hunger and thirst are at an end for the man who receives Him, for this is a life really worthy of the name; in the other (v. 50), He declares that he who eats shall never die. "In this largest sense, 'life' is the fulfilment of the highest idea of being," says Westcott;[1] and it absolutely bars out the thought of death as a possibility. Dr. Rendel Harris[2] notes that "the Christian doctrine of immortality is double: it is a spiritual doctrine, the doctrine of union with the Lord, which overlies a natural doc-

[1] *Epistle of St. John*, p. 109.

[2] *The Doctrine of Immortality in the Odes of Solomon*, p. 28.

trine, viz. the doctrine that death does not end all" ; and as he finds this natural doctrine almost everywhere, he maintains that "the real question of immortality is in the quality, not in the prolongation of existence." [1] And when a man, through Jesus Christ, obtained the gift of "life"—energy, contentment, hope, it scarcely needed to be said that such a gift is unending, for it contains no seeds or possibilities of decay. In his vision of the end, John sets as one episode the casting of "death and Hades into the lake of fire" (Rev. 20 [14]), for "death shall be no more" (21 [4]) ; but faith anticipates that end, and Paul (II Tim. 1 [10]) declares of Christ Jesus that He "abolished (*καταργήσαντος*) death once for all, and brought life and incorruption into light by His Gospel." [2]

The same suggestion of richer and more confident life is conveyed in Paul's phrases about the coming of the Spirit,[3] which he treats as the primary fact in the experience of his converts. They had received the Spirit (3 [2]), had made their Christian beginning in Him (3 [3]), had actually come to life in Him

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 32 *seq.*

[2] It is interesting to notice how Peter bases a Christian precept of fervent love upon the fact that they had been begotten of incorruptible seed (I Peter 1 [23]) ; merely in virtue of their new birth, they had in front of them a life of enduring relations, for which they must prepare themselves.

[3] Paul makes no uniform distinction between *πνεῦμα* and *τὸ πνεῦμα*. Generally, it may be said that the Holy Spirit is designated as *τὸ Πνεῦμα* ; but e.g. in Gal. 5 [18] and [25], He is referred to without the article. On the other hand, in 5 [17] and 6 [8], *τὸ πνεῦμα* is clearly a part of the human constitution.

(5 [25]) ; and every further stage of their development —in character, in gift and energy, and in boldness and confidence toward God seemed to be associated with this endowment.[1] "When Paul looked around him over the Christian Church,[2] he saw that like endowments, energies similar in kind, if inferior to his own in degree, were widely diffused. They were the characteristic mark of Christians. Partly they took a form which would commonly be described as supernatural—unusual powers of healing, unusual powers of utterance, an unusual, magnetic influence upon others ; partly they consisted in a strange elation of spirit which made suffering and toil seem light and insignificant ; but most of all, the new impulse was moral in its working, and blossomed out in a multitude of attractive traits, which St. Paul called 'fruits of the Spirit.'" His own words suggest that the characteristic form of this manifestation of Divine life in them was the ecstatic ; as Gunkel says : [3] "Wisdom a man can learn, but the Spirit

[1] The Spirit is freely referred to either as the Spirit of God or the Spirit of Christ. "The Lord is the Spirit," says the Apostle (II Cor. 3 [17]) ; and the presence of the Spirit in its moral effect is a real indwelling of Christ Himself, so that His words and temper are found in His friend (Gal 4 [6] ; I Cor 6 [17] ; II Cor. 3 [17]). A man who was without any trace of Christ's character had no good claim to the Christian name (Rom. 8 [9]) ; and Paul's prayer for himself and his confident expectation (ἀποκαραδοκία) were that God would constantly supply to him the Spirit of Jesus Christ (Phil. 1 [19]). It is "the exulting sense of fellowship with the Lord which the Scriptures call by the name of the joy of the Holy Ghost" (Rendel Harris).

[2] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xlii.

[3] *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes*, p. 87.

lays hold of him." The Spirit of God came upon them as a power, which, by giving them life, carried them past themselves. Under that constraint, all their gifts were raised to a higher power, so that they saw into the life of things, and spoke as with inspiration, and worked not on the old but on a new and supernatural level. It is true that above all things Paul prized the quality of character which was thus produced, the temper to which love and joy are natural, and especially that fearlessness in God's presence, which leads a man to call him "Father, dear Father!" But we should be most unwise if, because of this, we tamed and flattened his language about the Spirit into some vague description of a power working for goodness. Paul was deeply reverent even of the most extraordinary phenomena. He viewed the working of miracles with no shadow of distrust (Gal. 3 [5]; cf. I Cor. 12 [28-30]), and he thanked God for his own gift of tongues (I Cor. 14 [18]). He believed in the Divine Spirit because he had experienced His power, a power which floods all the channels of a man's nature and refuses to be bridled; and he accepted this as the pledge and forerunner of the final victory. "The Spirit and the inheritance bear each other company," says Gunkel "for the Spirit is the Christian man's present share in the kingdom of God whilst the inheritance is the portion which awaits him." [1] When Paul speaks of the day

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 70; cf. Weiss, *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 30: "Dafür haben sie das Unterpfand des Göttlichen Geistes, diesen immer gegenwärtigen Beweis der Liebe des himmlischen Vaters in ihren Herzen" (Rom. 5 [5]).

when we shall be better clothed, and the dying part of us shall be swallowed up of life, he adds, "He that hath wrought us for this end is God, who hath given us the Spirit as an earnest" (II Cor. 5 [5]; so Eph. 1 [14]). The Spirit, that is to say, is the kingdom of God to-day in the heart, and it gives assurance of a perfected kingdom to come. But this is not a separate entity; it is one description, amongst many, though it may be that none is so profound or so adequate, of the vital experience in which a man realizes his entrance into the fellowship of God through Jesus Christ.

It is in regard to an experience so extraordinary in its wealth and compass that Paul's challenge stands: "did ye receive the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith? He that supplieth to you the Spirit and worketh miracles among you, doeth He it by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?" Jesus Christ had been placarded before their eyes (3 [1]) as crucified;[1] and the outcome of that preaching was seen in these powers of life which gave them blessedness now and the assurance of the completed blessedness in the kingdom of God. God, it was clear, had visited them, already treating them as His people, how witless it would be, when that was secure, to seek about for some

[1] ἐσταυρωμένος—the perfect not the aorist participle, which Paul does not use in this connexion. Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 116: "The Cross is not a bare fact of the past, it extends its activity into the present. The Crucified One is a reality, which is daily felt by men."

external ratification of what they already possessed!

And such grace of God, says Paul, is not a new thing, but as old as Abraham; and, running through the Old Testament, there is a record of experiences astonishing, emancipating and divine, which need not fear to be set alongside of those of the new era.[1] "Abraham believed God, and that was reckoned unto him for righteousness," and all his children[2] since have known the blessedness which is the inner and personal side of righteousness. Wherever faith has been, there blessedness has also been. Of Moses it is recorded in an inspiring story (Exod. 33 [18] *seq.*) that in spite of human weakness, he found in his heart nothing else to ask for than a sight of the glory of God; and the devout chronicler relates that, in answer to this request, he was lifted high and set apart from fear, as if in some cleft of the rock, where he was able simply to look and wonder and rejoice. He saw into the very heart of the Eternal, and

[1] Wernle (*Anfänge*, p. 147) is inexplicably wrong when he says that "Paul denies right out that God forgave sin before the death of Jesus; at all events he maintains that God's grace first became manifest then. His apologetic zeal made him extinguish all the lights, that this new Light might shine backwards and forwards, over all the world and all history."

[2] οἱ ἐκ πίστεως: Ramsay takes this as an abbreviated expression for οἱ ἐκ πίστ. δικαιωθέντες (p. 345), but actually it is richer in suggestion. οἱ ἐκ πίστ. are those who stand on the side of faith, belong to its party (so Winer, p. 527). Ramsay (p. 337) curiously imagines that the inheritance is faith, whereas, beyond question, it is "the blessing." Faith is not and cannot be an inheritance, but is new born in each generation and individual.

recognized that loving-kindness and tender mercy are there. That, as it stands recorded, was an experience rounded and complete ; so far as the ends of religion are concerned there could be nothing to surpass it. That was a moment taken out of eternity, an infinitude not susceptible of increase or enrichment ; it was nothing less than eternal life in possession. An example scarcely less extraordinary is given in the 73rd Psalm, where a man stricken in health (v. 26), and with a world about him sorely out of joint (vv. 3–12), is yet able to declare, " If I have Thee, I ask not after heaven nor earth ; Thou art God always, the consolation of my heart and my portion." That is a passage, says Wellhausen,[1] " such that we are not worthy even to repeat it ; " the conditions which it describes are supremely blessed, by whatever name they may be called, and one notable point about them is that nothing of ceremonial is presupposed. Nothing is asked for but faith. Jeremiah, in his office as interpreter between God and Israel, was scorned and rejected by his people, but, at least, he was brought by it face to face with Jehovah. " Amid pains and sorrows the certainty of his personal fellowship with God grew clear, and the inmost essence of piety was discovered in him. . . . He is the father of true prayer." [2] Other episodes of the same kind in Old Testament piety might be adduced, but it is enough to say that characteristically they lie along the path of the development of *individual* religion ; no community

[1] *Abriss*, p. 95.

[2] Wellhausen, *Israel. und Jüd. Geschichte*, pp. 140–1.

climbs to heights like these. And that is the force of Paul's reference to Abraham and his sons. Abraham believed God, and by that he became God's friend. He had no community or Church to aid him, but faith carried him through to what is the goal of all religion ; and neither circumcision nor any other formality, marking his admission into a favoured company, could add anything to such an experience. It could not give him more of blessedness, or a completer nearness to God.[1] So Paul, in name of a fact which is patent, brushes aside the arguments of the narrower school ; just as a Nonconformist dismisses the assertions of Catholic orthodoxy as to his standing. He does not stay to argue about considerations taken from history or from theory, for he *knows* that he is in the love of God.

This appeal to the precedent of Abraham has, at least, a twofold interest. *In the first place,* Paul, like other wise reformers, is careful to justify his advance by reference to the past. The most conspicuous example of this common instinct is given in the story of the development of law and worship in Israel, in which everything is attributed to Moses, though, at a hundred points, what is enjoined transcends and even traverses the older teachings. Augustine maintains that the Christian religion had

[1] Dr. Somerville (*St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 78) remarks that " One of the merits of Ritschl's doctrine is that it brings out clearly that justification does not bear directly on the ethical life, that it has to do with our relation to God, and secures our *religious perfection.*"

always existed in the world,[1] just as missionaries to-day commend their message by appealing to any nobler elements in the religious tradition of the people they are seeking to win for Christ. Luther[2] speaks of his own theology as "that of the Bible or St. Augustine." The founder of Jansenism[3] declared truly that he was simply reproducing the teaching of Augustine, who, in his turn, had elaborated the teaching of St. Paul. This is not to be regarded merely as a controversialist's trick; it is inspired by an inner sense of continuity. John Henry Newman[4] says that a religious mind is "drawn off from error not by losing what it had but by gaining what it had not, not by being unclothed but by being clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." That is written of the many cases in which the passage is made from what is rude in religion to what is noble, but no different rule applies to the development or extension of what already is noble. Changes are bound to come, at least on the surface, and the danger is that these may subtly work from the surface inwards until the Church or institution, in its essential spirit, has been changed. M. Alfred Loisy contends[5] that "the Church had to become what it has become, to save

[1] With this may be compared a maxim of the Vicomte de Bonald: "Toute doctrine morale qui n'est pas aussi ancienne que l'homme est une erreur."

[2] *Letters*, p. 15 (Currie's translation).

[3] Leslie Stephen, *Studies of a Biographer*, II. pp. 246–7.

[4] *Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 200–1.

[5] *The Gospel and the Church*, p. 150.

the Gospel by saving itself," which is a daring reproduction of the first of our Lord's temptations ; and the Church, like her Master, must frankly acknowledge that there is no necessity for her to live unless God wills, and then only as God wills. Like other and more acquiescent Romans, Loisy has no norm by which to judge the transformations which the Gospel undergoes, other than the Church's acceptance of them. Such a rule is full of peril ; and in opposition to it, our evangelical contention, learned from the Apostle, has been steadfast ; the changes of the surface, which are inevitable, can only be preserved from misdirection by a continual appeal to the past and an ever-fresh apprehension of the spiritual contents of that past. In the Old Testament religion, Paul felt that there was a living heart which he could not afford to lose, though the mass of his nation were actually losing it through not going back far enough. They went for their authority to yesterday, when the system of Judaism was already becoming altered and devitalized, but he went to the beginning ; and in renewing Abraham's experience, which was the essential thing, he came into the true succession from which the others had strayed. Newman complains [1] of the Reformers that their zeal in returning upon the Scriptures as a test was antiquarian. " Their rediscoveries from primitive times were, for the living Church, novelties or dead anachronisms." Such a charge is both true and false. They were " *novatores,*" as Paul was, but that was because their zeal was not antiquarian ;

[1] Ward's *Life of Newman,* I. 88.

what interested them in the past was a life which they found in it, and found again in themselves ; and that unity of experience made them fearless in their renovation. As they were keeping all that was essential, they did not shrink from clearing away the accretions which had gathered about it, and thus they were able to change the whole outward aspect of worship without rejecting anything which was of the heart.

A second point of interest in this appeal to Abraham is the recognition by Paul of that two-foldness in the religion of Israel which modern critical discussions have forced into prominence. Any ordinary observer, reporting on the Old Testament piety, would have acknowledged little else than altar, sacrifice, priesthood, ritual. That way of approach to God was sanctioned by the Law, it was dignified by stately ceremonial, and it was worn smooth by the custom of centuries. Throughout the great part of Christian history, devout theologians, who everywhere saw types and shadows of the Christ, have been content to accept this Jewish tradition of the one acceptable way ; and it is only within the last century that the unembarrassed study of scholars has seriously called attention to another and directer way of approach, in which priests and ordinances played no part at all. One can only marvel how this discovery was so long delayed, for when once it was announced, many were ready to say that they had always known it. In every part of the Old Testament men were now seen disregarding priestly inter-

vention, and speaking with open face, for themselves to God. In pre-critical times, the glory of Christ's sacrifice had so irradiated all sacrifices, and given them such an air of prominence and necessity as forced good men to explain away whatever looked like disparagement. But the facts of spiritual life, as Paul by sheer divination discerned them, were against any such cavalier dismissal of the protestations of successive prophets. "According to Jeremiah, religion essentially implies a spiritual relation to God, independent of the emblems connected with the ancient worship of Israel. The circumcision of the future is to be that of the heart.[1] . . . To the Deutero-Isaiah, religion means spiritual communion between the soul and God." Jeremiah (7 $^{22-3}$) asserted that what God required of His people even at the beginning was not sacrifice but obedience. "Thou desirest not sacrifice," says one poet (Ps. 51 $^{16-17}$; cf. Ps. 40 $^{6-8}$, 50 ^{8}, etc.), "else would I give it. . . . The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." In many parts and ways the same lesson is enforced, that forms are irrelevant, that priestly intervention of any kind is excluded, and that the one thing which counts in religion is the temper and attitude of the heart. It was the significance of this noble line of witnesses which flashed upon Paul's mind as he made his appeal to Abraham. The argument with which

[1] The demand for the circumcision of the heart appears, it is true, in Deut. 10 ^{16}, 30 ^{6}; but the idea may none the less be a contribution of Jeremiah's to the thought of that age. W. E. Addis (*Hebrew Religion*, p. 202) thinks these passages additions to the code.

his converts had been pressed was that whilst conversion, with its raptures and its powers, was of profound interest, it did not make them Christians. In order to attain that, they must go to school with Moses; they must enter the community of Israel, must share its life and submit to its rules; and so long as this was wanting, their religious standing could never be secure. To such an argument Paul makes answer that their own experience, prior to circumcision, had not been that of outsiders, and further, that throughout the whole spiritual history of Israel this unencumbered way had been open and accepted. Before Moses was born, the word had already been spoken which made so much of his ministry superfluous. "The Scripture, foreseeing that God justifies (present tense, for this is the constant rule) the whole of mankind [1] by faith, pro-

[1] Where no contrast with Israel is involved τὰ ἔθνη can bear this larger sense. At the Last Day, there are gathered before Christ "all the nations" (Mt. 25 [32]), not Gentiles only. The commission to "make disciples of all the nations" (Mt. 28 [19]) is equivalent to "preaching the Gospel to every creature" (Mk. 16 [15]). "The leaves of the Tree of life were for the healing of the nations" (Rev. 22 [2]), of all mankind. In his mission preaching, but for one stubborn exception, Paul saw the promise (Gen. 18 [18]) swiftly coming true that "all the nations of the earth" should be blessed; so he writes (Gal. 3 [13]), "Christ hath redeemed us (Jews) from the curse of the Law (ὁ νόμος, with which Gentiles had nothing to do), that upon 'the nations' (a silent quotation) might come the blessing of Abraham." In the promise strictly interpreted (Gen. 28 [14], etc.) Israel stands over against τὰ ἔθνη as an instrument of blessing to them; but Paul understands the seed as meaning not Israel but Christ (Gal. 3 [16]).

claimed in advance the good tidings to Abraham that ' in thee the whole of mankind shall be blessed ' " (Gal. 3 [8]). Wherever and in whatever conditions and forms this marvellously individual thing called faith appeared ; wherever a man, looking with his own eyes and trusting with his own heart, came to God, there blessedness was experienced. Paul would have swept together all the emancipating expressions in the Old Testament, in which formalities were disowned, under the one rubric : " the blessing of Abraham comes thus upon his children." Indeed, as it appeared to Paul, this blessing is inconceivable on any other conditions, for even the just man must live by faith (3 [11]). That is his estimate of what the religion of the open face and of fellowship at first hand is worth, and ever has been worth.

But if this way to blessedness has always been open, apart from law and form and ceremony, the question rises as to why the Law was given at all. If no adverse witness were furnished by experience, law might seem a necessary expedient. Life is not all made up of impulse and inspiration, it requires also some element of rule and custom. " Pharisaism is not the deterioration of a good man," says Nietzsche somewhere ; " it is often the necessary condition of his being good." And yet when Paul looked back over the triumphs of the religious life, he did not find them along the way of law ; in fact, that way seemed rather to have carried men up into a cul-de-sac, from which they had to return as they came. In one

of his hardest passages (3 [19, 20]),[1] Paul seems to offer a reason for this failure. In rabbinical teaching, the Law had been conceived of as coming through the mediation of angels [2] (so Heb. 2 [2]; Acts 7 [38, 53]). This was an imaginative form, by which the glory of the Law was naïvely enhanced, and a thinker might have hesitated to say whether it was truth or poetry. John Henry Newman,[3] in one of his *Sermons*, maintains that "the course of nature which is so wonderful, so beautiful and so fearful, is effected by the ministry of these unseen beings. . . . Nature is not inanimate; its daily toil is intelligent; its works are duties. . . . Every breath of air, and ray of light and heat, every beautiful prospect is, as it were, the skirts of the garments, the waving of the robes of those whose faces see God in heaven." Such writing will always have its appeal to a certain class of minds, and the fancy which it expresses lies clear of any risk of disproof; but if, at any time, this were allowed to harden into a dogma, it might gravely impede the movement of scientific thought. And that was the result of the petrifaction of this effort of the rabbinical imagination. It had been intended to magnify the Law by showing that man had no part in its publica-

[1] Holtzmann classes this as one of "the seven most notable *cruces interpretum*: Rom. 5 [12], 8 [3], 9 [5]; I Cor. 15 [45]; II Cor. 5 [3]; Gal. 3 [20]; Phil. 2 [6]." The suggested interpretations are numbered by hundreds, but for the beginning of straightforward sense one must turn to Jowett. Lightfoot and Ramsay darken counsel.

[2] See on the mediation of angels—Lightfoot and Lietzmann, *ad loc.*; Hollmann, *Welche Religion hatten die Juden als Jesus auftrat?* p. 28 *seq.*; Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 73.

[3] *Sermons*, II. 361–2.

tion, but the ultimate result was to diminish God's part. "The Law was given by angels," says Paul, "through the agency of an intermediary. So this intermediary [1] (i.e. Moses) took his commission not from one person." Between Moses and God there was interposed this body of angels, so that the people, in receiving the Law, dealt with God only at two removes. "It sounds like a paradox to modern ears," says Jowett,[2] "to place the superiority of the Gospel over the Law in the fact that the Law had a mediator and the Gospel had not. Yet such is the Apostle's reasoning. . . . He who is interposed between God and man intercepts instead of revealing God.[3] . . . The dispensation of mediation is inferior to that of the open face." The desire for an absolute directness of relation governs the whole Epistle, and one smiles at the thought of what Paul would have said of so quaintly Jewish an accumulation of indi-

[1] *ὁ μεσίτης*—the mediator just referred to: so I Thes. 4 [6]—*ἐν τῷ πράγματι*—this matter, and perhaps Heb. 2 [14], *τοῦ θανάτου* (so Rendall *in loc.*); so II Cor. 5 [4]; Col. 4 [16]. Lightfoot takes the definite article as expressing the idea, the specific type. Winer (p. 133) will not allow to the article the force of the demonstrative pronoun.

[2] P. 150.

[3] Dr. Schechter supplies a curious parallel to this from Jewish thought (*Aspects of Rabbinical Theology*, p. 291): "When Israel heard the commandment, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me, the Evil Yezer was uprooted from their hearts; but when they came to Moses and said, Be thou our messenger between us and God . . . the Evil Yezer came back at once in his place. Every separation from God, though not with the intention of sin, but with the purpose of establishing an intermediary, is considered as the setting up of another god, who is the cause of sin."

rectnesses as we find at the beginning of the Apocalypse (1 [1]) : " The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave to Him to show to His servants, and He sent and signified it by His angel to His servant John, who bare witness." That is a repetition on the heavenly level of the elaborate etiquette of an Oriental court, and to Paul it would have seemed hampering and vexatious. What he craved, and what he fancied Jesus Christ had secured for him, was a ministry of the open face. Wherever, through history, this had been enjoyed, it had brought blessedness with it ; and if anywhere, as in the giving of the Law as described by the rabbis themselves, intermediaries had been admitted, there was little wonder that the system led to disappointment.

But this consideration sends us back with fresh perplexity to the question, Why was the Law given ? What providential purpose did it serve ? If apart from it, the great ends of religion were attained, and if, through its indirectness, it actually obscured a man's relation with God, would it not have been better away ? To this, in logic, only one answer can be given ; but, as we have seen, there were present in Paul's nature forces much more influential than that of mere logic.[1] There was a profound reverence

[1] Deissmann (*Paulus*, p. 75) : God's dealings with Israel are to Paul the Jew " a religious torment more than a thought problem. In thought no solution is discovered ; in trying again and again to get free, he only entangles himself afresh in the net ; and the answers which he gives are not speculative conclusions, they are mere rendings of the net under the weight of his religious intuition."

for old associations and for people amongst whom he had been brought up, a conservatism of sentiment which is worthy of all respect. "By his anxiety to uphold the sanctity of the Law, which nevertheless he had discarded, Paul compromised his position," says Dr. Ernest Scott. "He encumbered the defence of Christianity with a difficulty which was wholly superfluous. In all his thinking, Paul is still haunted by his Jewish conscience. Discerning clearly that the Law, as a defective instrument, must now be thrown aside, he feels himself obliged at every turn to make terms with it, preserving to it some shadow of authority, while declaring in the same breath that its day was past." [1] Paul's argument, if pressed to its conclusion, would have proved not only that the day of the Law was past, but that it never had a day; but against such a conclusion his nature was in arms. For one thing, he believed with all his heart in Providence; he was convinced that things do not happen, they are appointed by One who sees the end from the beginning; and an instrument which had played so large a part in history as the Law *must* have had a Divine intention. Through a difficult passage (3 [15]–4 [7]), he labours to show that something can still be said in defence of it; but, in spite of his loving ingenuity and his sentimental reverence, it must be allowed that the plea is of no considerable force. It will always be read with interest because of its intimately personal quality, and one part of it is extraordinarily touching in its magnifying of Jesus Christ. But what had gone before in his life, had

[1] Ernest F. Scott, *Apologetic of the New Testament*, p. 92.

done its work; the Law had been exposed in its religious futility; and it is vain even for an Apostle to build up again what he has destroyed.

The deepest note is struck first. In Paul's thinking and feeling, Christ was so absolutely the centre about which all things turned, that it seemed to him in no way exorbitant to suppose that an arrest had been put upon the progress of history until the predestined Master should arrive. To occupy the scene merely until the chief Performer was ready may not appear a very dignified function for the Law, of which such glorious things had been written, but it is the best that Paul can imagine. It played a lowly part, discharging some humble tasks of preliminary discipline in order to bring men into the appropriate mood for welcoming the Christ. It was true that, in age after age, blessedness had actually been enjoyed by the men of faith; but all such Old Testament experiences, as one surveys them from the standpoint of Christian privilege, contained an element of anticipation and adventure; the brave confidence exhibited seems wholly disproportioned to any revelation of God which had yet been granted. Paul is conscious of this, and he finds a reason for it in the very wording of the promise. It was "to Abraham *and his seed*" that the promises were made. In all the passages which may be referred to (Gen. 22 [18], 13 [15], 17 [8]), the "seed" unquestionably is Abraham's whole posterity; but no Jew of Paul's time, and few theologians of any time, would allow the strict historical meaning of a verse to stay his argument; so the Apostle continues (3 [16]): "He

saith not, And to seeds, as of many ; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." From of old, the coming of this conspicuous Descendant of Abraham had been heralded, dimly at first but with always growing confidence. His nearer approach had quickened hope and longing in the hearts of men, for this dream of the Messiah included all the best that even God could send to His people. The Christ was not to be a single blessing, but all the Divine blessings in one ; so that any expedient seemed justified which enabled men rightly to welcome this " unspeakable Gift." In this connexion, the Law seems to have discharged a ministry partly of exasperation and partly of tutelage, but it has no worth or standing of its own, and its sole prosperity is found in its success in bringing men to Christ. The images which Paul uses will not to every one seem relevant ; but for Paul himself, and for thousands coming after him, they have declared the inmost facts of life.

" The Law," he says first (3 [19]), " was added to multiply transgressions, until the Seed should come to whom the promise was given." [1] " Where there is not a law, there is also no transgression," he asserts in another Epistle (Rom. 4 [15]). " Where there is no law, sin is not reckoned " (Rom. 5 [13]) ; or, as he more sharply puts it in the seventh chapter of Romans (v. 7) : " I should not have known sin but through the agency of law, for I should not have been aware of evil desire if the Law had not said,

[1] Lietzmann, p. 243 : " Nicht um den Uebertretungen zu wehren, sondern um sie zu mehren, und, nach Rom. 4 [15], 5 [13], zur bewussten Sünde zu stempeln."

Thou shalt not covet." That is, as we have seen, the doctrine of Rabelais, though on a different plane. "When men of honour are brought under by base subjection, they turn aside to break the bond of servitude; for it is agreeable to the nature of man to long after things forbidden and to desire what is denied them." This mood is terribly portrayed in the seventh of Romans, though it is too freely attributed by Paul to his fellow-men. At the time of his conversion, he had not yet taken a step towards the Christian Church so far as opinion was concerned; but in weariness of heart and in the growing sense of disenchantment he had travelled far, and thus he was ready for anyone who bore even the look of a Deliverer. Such a conception of the Law keeps for it still a real function in the religious life.

This is amplified in a succession of images, which all represent the growing impatience with which men submitted, and thus unconsciously were prepared to give Christ a welcome. The first of these is the metaphor of a jailer.[1] "The love of freedom is a prison flower," says Heine;[2] "it is in confinement that the worth of freedom is first perceived." Paul had learned how the Law made men uneasy, and conscious of their faults, but it could do nothing to remove these

[1] It is a fair question if the jailor (as in Bruce) should be regarded as a separate image; clearly it is less developed than the others, but vv. 22-3 do convey a suggestion of discipline. Lightfoot (p. 148) insists that *συγκλείειν* is not merely an equivalent of "to include." In Wisdom, 17 [16], a man hard pressed by conscience and exaggerating his troubles is said to be "kept straitly shut up in a prison not of iron."

[2] *Deutsche Auswanderer.*

faults. It spoke abundantly of forgiveness. The ritual of sacrifice was one elaborate expression of the sense men had of sin and of the mystery of its removal; and the development of the law of sacrifice between Deuteronomy and Leviticus shows how deeply men were thinking of these matters. National disaster had brought gravity of temper, and the law of sacrifice had step by step kept pace with the increase of that gravity. Common souls are quickly satisfied with a ritual of any kind; and in Israel there were many who muttered through the required acknowledgments, complied with the appointed forms, and left the matter there. But wherever passion was intense, the Hebrew piety broke away from this routine of ritual, and called to God for some more effectual remedy. The conflict of Augustine and Pelagius runs back far beyond the time of these great protagonists, for there is a perpetual strife between men of vehement nature and those for whom propriety of conduct is easy; and the deeper-hearted Psalmists are all describable as Augustinians in their feeling that sacrifices are and must be vain, and that, in forgiveness, God must count for everything.[1] Thus the Law, by its very weakness, drove men back upon God, which is no trivial service. Meno [2] accuses Socrates of being like the cramp-fish which benumbs anyone who touches it; by his questions and distinctions, he made men unable to grasp what, yet, they were sure they knew. And Socrates,

[1] E.g. Ps. 25 [11], 32 [5], 40 [6], 50 [8-15], 51 [16, 17], 69 [30, 31], 119 [108], 141 [2], etc., etc.

[2] *Meno*, 80–84.

in answer, examines a boy in mathematics so as to lay his ignorance bare, and then he says: "You see that from the beginning he did not know, though he fancied that he did, and answered as if he knew what he was talking about. Now, through finding himself at a loss, he thinks himself as ignorant as he is. . . . In bringing him to this, have I done him any harm? Have I not rather set him forward a little in the way of discovering the truth?" That, essentially, is Paul's plea for the Law; by creating a sense of helplessness, it made men ready for "the Breaker" (Mic. 2 [13]), who comes of God to lead the captives out and home. "Ordinarily," says William Guthrie of Fenwick,[1] speaking in harmony with the religious experience characteristic of his age, "ordinarily the Lord prepareth His own way in the soul by a work of humiliation, and discovereth a man's sin and misery to him, and exerciseth him so therewith, that he longs for the Physician, Christ Jesus."[2] "Before faith came we were kept shut up under the authority of law" (3 [23]).

The *paedagogus* is a half-humorous comparison; for the Law is presented under the guise of a household slave charged with the care of a boy, and responsible for his safety and for keeping him out of bad company. Among the Romans, as Ramsay notes,[3] "the paidagogos gave some home instruction to the child; he was a Greek-speaking slave, who

[1] *The Christian's Great Interest* (Smellie's edition), p. 201.

[2] Lietzmann (p. 243) speaks of the Law as making evident "die Aussichtslosigkeit des Gesetzesweges."

[3] *Hist. Commentary*, p. 383.

looked after the child and taught him to use the Greek language" ; and in the only other New Testament passage in which the word is used (I Cor. 4 [15]), this later Romanized meaning [1] is suggested : "Ye may have a host of elementary instructors, but ye have not many fathers." Here, in Galatians, there is no hint of teaching but only of tutelage, as in a famous passage in Plato : [2] "How does your paidagogos exercise his authority ? In taking me to my schoolmaster's, to be sure." It was no very dignified office, and in Rome it often happened that a slave fit for nothing else was employed for this purpose. The Law, at best, it seems, was like a kindly servant —a good old soul who, with his cautions and admonitions, might discharge a useful function, if only it were clear that his authority was for the time of childhood only.[3] He spoke sharply sometimes, for without that he would not have been obeyed at all. It is good that children should be under restraint, but if this is maintained beyond the fitting time, it becomes a mere source of irritation. When faith comes, and a man has grown up, the pædagogue cannot too promptly retire.

[1] Clement of Alexandria also suggests the element of teaching : "Philosophy was a paidagogos for the Greek world, as the Law was for the Hebrews, to bring them to Christ" ; cf. Newman (Ward's *Life*, II. 57) ; "in weakening Oxford we are weakening our friends, weakening our own *de facto* paidagogos into the Church. Catholics did not make us Catholics, Oxford made us Catholics."

[2] *Lysis*, 208.

[3] Cf. II Cor. 3 [13] : "Moses put a veil upon his face," not because of its dazzling brightness, but that the people might not see how fast that brightness faded.

The image of the steward needs no interpretation. He acts for the heir, whilst he is under age. A boy of position finds that his wishes, as to what must one day be his own, are never consulted. He has to do what he is told, and accept what is appointed for him; and in the early stages of life, nothing is more educative than this habit of obedience and respect. "What is the hoop that holds boys staunch?" asks Emerson.[1] "It is the iron band of poverty, of austerity, of necessity which, excluding them from the sensual enjoyments which make other boys too early old, has directed their activity into safe and right channels, and has made them, despite themselves, reverers of the grand, the beautiful and the good." In Paul's own life, the Law had so controlled him from the first, that he was able, in his manhood, to claim that he had "lived in all good conscience unto this day" (Acts 23 [1]), and he was never disposed to make light of such a service. Yet when he surveyed his past, it was with a sense of estrangement, as if it were the record of another man. Of the methodized religion to which he and his friends submitted in Oxford, John Wesley confesses [2] that it was "the faith of a servant, not that of a son"; and Paul, in like fashion, looked back to a time when he was "held in bondage under the rudiments of the world" (4 [3]), "observing days, and months, and seasons, and years" (4 [10]), a time when he needed in everything to be told his duty. Once he had thought with approbation of such a temper, but now it looked

[1] *Life*, by Richard Garnett, p. 26.
[2] *Journal*, I. 72 (Jan. 29, 1738).

strangely slavish, and the notion that his converts might actually end in that made him afraid (4 [11]). We all had to pass through that stage because we were children ; but we are grown up now, and have put away childish things.

What had brought about this change in outlook was not simply the passing of years—it was the coming of a new thought of God revealed by Jesus to the world. The Son of Mary in appearance was not Master and Emperor, but under constraint and limitation like His fellows (*ὑπὸ νόμον* 4 [4]). In the *Lysis*,[1] Socrates asks a lad : "Whatever is the reason that they hinder you in this shocking manner from being happy and from doing as you please, and keep you all day long in bondage to some one or other ? You seem to get no good from your fortune, large as it is, but every one seems to have more to say about its disposal than you." And when it appears that in some things the lad does get his way, whilst in others he does not, he modestly offers the explanation : "I suppose that is because I understand the one class of things, and I do not understand the other." And certainly, this Son of man so managed His life that for Him there was no bristling forest of restrictions.[2] He lived in the things which

[1] *Lysis*, 209.

[2] H. R. Mackintosh (*The Person of Jesus Christ*, p. 393) quotes from T. H. Green : "It is because Jesus, under limiting conditions, lived a life which is limited to no conditions, and under special circumstances proclaimed a principle which is applicable to all circumstances, that His life and His principles are rightly called absolute."

He understood, and thus He was a free man. Instinct might recoil at the near prospect of death, but His will remained unshaken. He willed always what God willed, and thus He showed no temper of rebellion; He was not a servant but a Son, and His attitude towards God was that of free and joyful obedience. The motto of His life was found in the words of the 40th Psalm (40 [7]; Heb. 10 [9]), "I come to do Thy will, O God." Such a life was a new beginning in the world; it set a new fashion of obedience, and created the power by which that fashion could be maintained, for "He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit" (I Cor. 6 [17]). To Paul it seemed that there was a real interpenetration of life between Christ and those who held to Him, such that, through His Sonship, they received the standing of sons also (Gal. 4 [5]). His Spirit mastered their spirits, and taught their unaccustomed lips to speak to God as He did; and once they had learned that, their bondage was at an end. "God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying Father, dear Father! so that thou art no more a slave but a son" (4 [6]). This principle of unity of life with Jesus, which faith secures, carries us over many difficulties in Paul's thinking. His conception of substitution,[1] e.g., has nothing artificial or external in it, for men are drawn by the oneness of spirit into the same

[1] To understand the *moral* constraint of substitution, we may reverently compare Gal. 4 [12]: "Come to my position, I entreat you, brethren, as I have come to yours." By coming to be under the authority of law like them, Jesus brings men to be sons of God like Himself.

attitude with their Lord. His self-surrender is spoken of as if it were a kind of purchase price for their liberty (ἐξαγοράσῃ 4 [5]); but really, in His self-surrender those who eternally are one with Him gave themselves up, and thus they are no longer slaves but sons, and they serve God with a loving mind. That is all extraordinarily personal; we can see Paul straightening his back, and beginning to look to God in a new way, and to serve in another spirit. In his rebellious fashion, but with an absolute justice of perception, Nietzsche [1] explains, "Jesus said to His Jews, the law was for servants; love God as I love Him, as His son! What have we sons of God to do with morals?" "What is done out of love always takes place beyond good and evil," the ordinary tests and canons do not apply. And once more he says, "The great epochs of our life are at the points when we gain courage to rebaptize

[1] *Beyond Good and Evil*, pp. 99, 98, 92. Nothing more sadly reveals the timidity and conventionality of the Church in which Nietzsche was brought up than the multitude of really Christian aphorisms which he has published with the apparent supposition that they were Anti-Christian. The outstanding feature in the Lord's character, says Weinel, was "His unbendingness"; if Nietzsche could have had that credibly presented to him, his life might have been transformed. T. R. Glover (*The Christian Tradition*, etc., p. 159): "Where Christ has touched human character in earnest, the Bismarck ideals have been challenged at once, and the school of Bismarck has always realized the danger of a free gospel. A tame-cat clergy, with a gospel of the mailed fist, may be tolerable; but men in whom Christ lives, men prepared to champion their fellow-men in Christ's spirit—these are intolerable in any community ruled by the ideals of Bismarck, English, German, Russian or Roman."

ss as the best thing in us." These are all and Pauline utterances, belonging to the norality of grown men. "When we were be justified in Christ," says Paul (Gal. 2 [17]), e found sinners"; i.e., we affronted the s and did what was glaringly unusual, but ot abashed by men's opinion. For we had and were living no longer at the direction ous society, but of the true Lord and Lover eaking now in our own souls.

ul's argument against the Law as a *neces-* ment to faith is completed. Even when as enthroned, it was possible for men to way without its countenance into the presence of God, and to know the blessed- that secures; but now, with the coming of God, the Law is wholly obsolete. It indispensable, and now it is a mere in- ow witless, then, to turn back from that ises all things to a system so triumphantly The blessing of God is for the free. ge of expostulation and pleading which ch in its exhibition of the heart of Paul, nothing to his thought. Only at the end ter (4 [21] *seq.*), he condescends half-play- r incapacity, and tells them a story,[1] in gh he begins like a rabbi, he rises to the the 87th Psalm, the poet had imagined m proud empires, drawn by God to seek ship in Zion, and learning to look to her

[1] So Findlay, *Expos. Bible—Galatians.*

as mother ![1] And we, says Paul, we also have been drawn by a divine constraint to that Jerusalem which is above and is free, and "it is she who is our mother." He looked to a swift increase of the Christian fellowship (4 [27]), not due to any commonplace or worldly motives, for people added to the Church on such terms are slaves as much as any of their neighbours. One by one God calls His children (Rom. 8 [29]), and each is born of miracle after Isaac's fashion (*κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ* 4 [28]). As individuals, God deals with men, and there can be no graver declension than to refuse that privilege of fellowship at first hand, and to huddle back into the mob of those without eyes and without purpose.[2] "For freedom Christ made us free;

[1] The reading of the LXX (Ps. 86 [5]) is—*μήτηρ Σιὼν ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος*—"each shall call Zion, mother! yea, each man was born in her." This reading was clearly in Paul's mind. Moffatt (*N.T. Introd.*, p. 86) takes the phrase as an echo of the talk of the Judaizers—a suggestion which has no justification and no probability. Such people do not rise to poetry; and if the phrase had been used by Paul with a sense that this was the Judaizers' claim, the emphasis would have been on *ἡμῶν* rather than on *ἥτις*—"it is she that is our mother."

[2] Vinet repeatedly, in his *Essays on Moral Philosophy*, returns upon this: e.g., "Comment jeter dans une masse confuse, fondre dans le lingot social, l'être que Dieu a mis à part, et qu'à part Il a honoré de son amour, et, s'il faut tout dire, honoré de son colère" (p. 113). "Aussi longtemps que l'individu attend un jugement au delà de ce monde, il est plus grand que la société qui n'en attend point. Il ne peut admettre l'égalité entre lui-même et la société, qui n'est pas un être mais un arrangement entre des êtres. Il sent que la substance l'emporte sur la forme, et ce qui doit durer sur ce qui ne dure pas. L'immortalité de l'âme détrône la société, et la met aux pieds non de l'individu, sans doute, mais de l'individualité" (p. 109).

stand, therefore, and be not again brought under a yoke of thraldom" (5 [1]); for this individual experience of the grace of God in Jesus Christ is abundantly sufficient of itself, without any added rule, to carry men through to the end.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT OF JESUS

"A personal religious life tends to produce a personal moral life."—JOHN WARNECK.

PAUL'S first word as he enters upon the ethical portion of his Epistle (5 [13]) betrays his sense of urgent danger. "Ye were called for freedom,[1] only use not your freedom as a starting-point (*εἰς ἀφορμὴν*) for the flesh."[2] Freedom is in all cases a testing experience, which may dignify a man's nature, or it may intoxicate and madden him. Emerson describes [3] with emotion the way in which the negroes in the West Indies celebrated their emancipation: "On the night of the 31st July, they met everywhere in their churches and chapels, and when the clock struck twelve, on their knees,

[1] *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ* —with a view to; for this use of *ἐπί*, cf. I Thess. 4 [7]; II Tim. 2 [14]; Eph. 2 [10]; Winer, *N. Test. Greek* (9th edition), p. 492. See Deissmann's *Paulus*, p. 101, *Light from East*, pp. 327–8, about slaves formally sold to a god *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ* —in order that they might be set free.

[2] "The flesh," not in any narrow signification as equal to sensuality: "The works of the flesh" (v. 19) are very largely faults of temper and self-assertion; here (v. 15) "biting and devouring one another" is a work of "the flesh."

[3] IV. 206.

the silent, weeping assembly became men. They rose and embraced each other; they cried, they sang, they were wild with joy, but there was no riot. Some American captains had left the shore and put to sea, anticipating insurrection and general murder; but with far different thoughts, the negroes spent the hours in their huts and chapels. I have never read in history anything more touching than their moderation." But the test of freedom is not exhausted in the first hours of its enjoyment, and many who have survived the earlier strains have succumbed to those which came after. Professor R. A. S. Macalister records [1] the stages of events in Palestine after the "Young Turkish" revolt in 1908. At first, in Jerusalem, there were manifestations of exuberant goodwill. "Supercilious old Muslim Sheikhs and bigoted Jewish rabbis might be seen embracing on the streets. On all sides was heard the glad cry—liberty! But a short six weeks later, people were beginning to look each other in the face and to ask apprehensively what was to happen next, for the new-born liberty was growing to a veritable Frankenstein monster, with many-sided and unexpected energies. . . . Throughout the country, the Sheikhs thought they saw their opportunity to regain the long-suppressed power of their ancestors, and the consequent brawls filled the hospitals with wounded men. . . . All over the country the same story was told—an alarming outbreak of lawlessness and crime of all kinds. . . . The hopes and aspirations are, we doubt not, for

[1] *Civilization in Palestine*, pp. 127–8.

the best ; but the tradition of centuries of corruption and extortion on the one hand, of timidity and apathy on the other, and of selfishness on all sides, is not to be broken down at once." Men are everywhere the creatures and slaves of habit, accustomed, even without noticing the extent of their subjection, to let their life run along the grooves of accepted forms of speech and action ; and when these are broken up, there is bound to be a time of jolting and floundering, during which each may strike out for himself along whatever looks like a track.[1] In every great age of emancipation there has been, at least, a fringe of reckless spirits, who have discredited the whole movement. Some of the men of Münster[2] had touches of real nobility, but the lust after a new beginning in everything took hold of them. The Scriptures were thrust aside, for the world must be ruled according to the precepts of nature and the Spirit.[3] Month by month, the pace became more

[1] Dr. Oman, *The Church and the Divine Order*, p. 217 : " The outward authority of the Church had so long been the sanction of conscience that, without it, men were as swimmers who had suddenly discarded their bladders. Some rule by regulation and outward compulsion, some force of an authoritative institution, seemed imperatively necessary."

[2] See Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, II. 462 *seq.* ; Herzog, *Real-Encyc.*, X. 362, etc.

[3] Dr. Inge (*Christian Mysticism*, p. 217) describes a Spanish heresy of the sixteenth century, whose adherents (the Alombrados —the Enlightened) held that Church prayers were worthless, that the Illuminated needed no sacraments and could commit no sins, etc. ; cf. Eckhart's assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 161), " If your will is right, you cannot go wrong," and Robert Burns's account of the " Buchanite " sect in Irvine (Letter of date 3rd Aug., 1784).

furious, as of madmen trying to run away from their own shadows, and they ended in such foul excess. In the beginning of the year 1652, a godly Englishman, James Nayler,[1] when he was "in the field at plough, meditating on the things of God, heard a voice bidding him go out from his kindred and from his father's house, and he had a promise given him that the Lord would be with him. Whereupon he did exceedingly rejoice that he had heard the voice of God whom, from a child, he had endeavoured to serve. . . . Being made willing and going out with a friend, not thinking of a journey, he was commanded to go into the West, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came he had given him what to declare; and so he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next, and the promise of God, that He would be with him, he found made good with every day." That beginning has upon it the freshness of Galilee; and it is pitiful to pass on to a time when hysterical women kneeled to kiss his feet, hailing him as "the fairest among ten thousands and the Son of God," and when a crowd led him into Bristol on horseback, spreading scarfs and handkerchiefs in his way, and shouting "Hosanna in the highest!" Fox says[2] dryly that "James ran out into imaginations and a company with him, and they raised up a great darkness in the nation." "He was dark," says Fox again, "and much out." But what so extravagantly misled him was the common delusion of those who are cast on their own untested inspirations.

[1] Sewel, *History of the Quakers*, I. 234 *seq.* [2] *Journal*, p. 220.

The instinct of the governing man who is leading his fellows in revolutionary change is commonly to hold them well in hand, under a system of detailed orders. "The Reformers themselves were not unaware of the limitations of human nature; and to Calvin, at least, it seemed necessary to reconstitute the Church with a system of discipline so searching and effective as to ensure that the weak and the erring would be adequately tutored, governed and restrained." [1] Along with the preaching of the Gospel and the right administration of sacraments, the exercise of discipline was recognized in the Reformed Confessions as one of the notes of the true Church. When James Russell Lowell discusses [2] the stringency of New England in its treatment of sectaries, he offers in arrest of condemnation the plea that "John of Leyden had taught them how unendurable by the nostrils of honest men is the corruption of the right of private judgment in the evil and selfish hearts of men. . . . They knew that liberty, in the hands of feeble-minded and unreasoning persons (and all the worse if they are honest), means nothing more than the supremacy of their particular form of imbecility, and nothing less than downright chaos." In the very interest of freedom, as they thought, they drew the reins tight. Uninstructed creatures must not be left to flounder as they could through the great experiment of free-

[1] Paterson, *The Rule of Faith*, p. 296, also p. 267; cf. Oman, *Church and Divine Order*, p. 218.

[2] *Among My Books*—see essay on "New England Two Centuries Ago."

dom, they must be helped across ; and since their ignorance and the power of their passions made freedom perilous, every step, for a time, must be prescribed. Wesley was very conscious of the wild possibilities by which he was encompassed, and specially he was disquieted by the fanatical talk of some of the Moravians to whom he owed so much.[1] Salvation, they said, implies liberty from the commandments of God, so for a believer there is no commandment at all. Such ambiguous teachings might easily have encouraged reckless men to a sort of moral anarchy, and, in view of them, he made his orders peremptory and precise. "Do not mend our rules, but keep them," he wrote for his preachers ;[2] "A Methodist preacher is to mind every point, great and small, in the Methodist discipline. Therefore you will need all the grace and all the sense you have, and to have all your wits about you."

Such detailed directions are peculiarly desirable when the conditions of the new adventure are ecstatic, as in Münster, or in the early days of the Society of Friends. When a man feels or fancies himself possessed by the Spirit of God, the restraints of mere custom appear impertinent ; and whilst he may rise to heights of pure inspiration, he is very likely to be hurried along by his own conceit or his ill-regulated appetites. It was in such conditions that the Christian Church had its origin. At the Apostolic epoch, says Dr. Harnack, "conversions

[1] *Letter to the Church of God at Herrnhut* (Journal, I. 306).

[2] *Abridgement of the Summary of Methodist Law*, etc., p. 107.

were often, perhaps as a rule, ecstatic in character, that is, wrought by the Spirit" ;[1] and the Apostle had knowledge of how fiercely, even outside of the Church, these tides of excited feeling ran. "You know," he writes to the Corinthians (I Cor. 12 [2]), "that at one time you were heathen, urged on by impulse and led away to the dumb idols." When visited thus by enthusiasm, men seemed to become, for the moment, mere instruments of a hidden Power, so that when they spoke, it was the voice of Another which was heard. The customary reserves and controls were submerged, and from their lips, without self-correction, there might come the supreme witness that "Jesus is Lord," or the shocking cry that "Jesus is anathema." That is the weakness of any system indulgent of ecstasy. Custom, sobriety, tradition—these are like the steadying pendulum ; but if that is detached, and the man is left to the impulse of the moment, with what swift whirr of noise, and with what idle waste of energy, does the machinery run down! Of this danger Paul had many reminders. In Corinth the public assembly degenerated into a scene of indecent clamour ; men and women yielded to what they took as inspiration, and voices were raised shrilly to overcry all competitors, whilst edification was forgotten. On the side of morals the same mischief of individualism was apparent ; the old restraints had been cast off, and men were left at the mercy of their own impulses and whims. In the Corinthian Church there passed without rebuke a scandal of

[1] *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 258.

which Paul too strongly says [1] that it did not exist among the Gentiles (I Cor. 5 [1])—an earlier version of the sexual abuses which have made the name of Münster infamous. In Thessalonica, people were so possessed by the near sense of the end that the bonds of custom were relaxed ; work was neglected, and they were sinking into conditions of mendicancy (I Thess. 4 [11-12]) ; and along with this, there went a corrupting of family life, which even threatened promiscuity (I Thess. 4 [3-8]—specially τὸν ἀδελφόν v. 6). The suggestion given in the whole passage is of men and woman hurried beyond themselves into regions of feeling in which they did not know their way. Christian history abounds in instances of the same kind—of people borne joyously along on the tide of some strong emotion far beyond the old familiar settlements, to be stranded at last when the tide left them, in miry places, through which they had to struggle as they might. And the attitude of the officials of the Thessalonian Church is not to be wondered at when, like the New England fathers, they sought by authority to quench the Spirit, and treated prophesyings as of no account (I Thess. 5 [19, 20]).

In this common instinct of the governing man which seeks for "a stronger force than persuasion and a more visible security than faith," Paul seems

[1] ὀνομάζεται is apparently a Syrian addition to the text. Dr. Hodgkin (*Trial of Faith*, p. 77) says "'that a man should have his father's wife' was not only named but condoned when Antiochus married in the lifetime of his father Seleucus that father's wife Stratonice." For classical phrases of condemnation of such a relation, see Findlay, *Expos. Gr. Test.*—I Cor. 5 [1].

to have had little share. In his first letter to the Corinthians, he does offer a number of definite hints —that money for Church purposes be set aside on the first day of the week (16 [2]), that in public worship not more than three persons in succession should speak in tongues or prophesy (14 [27, 29]); in the marriage relation he warns them against fanatical strictness (7 [3] *seq.*), thus in fragmentary fashion, reclaiming the control of conduct for sobriety and reason.[1] But these are hints, they are not laws; they reveal the common sense of a man of large experience who is giving his opinion, and he frankly allows that they have no Divine authority. "I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my opinion," he says (I Cor. 7 [25]); "I speak not by way of commandment" (II Cor. 8 [8]). The one quaint exception at which it is difficult not to smile is the amazing dogmatism of his rulings as to the behaviour and the attire of women. "It is shameful for a woman to speak in Church" (I Cor. 14 [35]); "judge ye in yourselves if it is seemly for a woman to pray unveiled" (11 [13]); "doth not nature itself teach you that if a man have long hair it is a dishonour to him?" (11 [14]); "for this cause (i.e. since the woman was created for the man) ought the woman to have a veil, as a sign of authority, on her head because of the angels" (11 [10]).[2] "All

[1] His counsel as regards things offered to idols—I Cor. 8 [4], 10 [20, 21]—is by no means easy to reconcile with itself. Certainly it has none of the precision of statute law.

[2] Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, p. 203) insists that this can only mean that the veil is the sign of possessing authority, not of

I can say is that I never heard him mair awe-inspiring," said Waster Lunny of his minister.[1] "Whaur has he got sic a knowledge of women?" But an Apostle, after all, was a man, and throughout his life his mind retained the bent it had received in Tarsus, where the complete veiling of women was an elementary point of respectability;[2] and it is interesting to note that the Church almost from the first, as if by a finer instinct, discerned this fact, and passed these dicta of his prejudice by.

Three more general suggestions for the guidance of his converts invite our attention;—he bids them *imitate himself* (I Cor. 4 [16], 11 [1]; Phil. 3 [17], 4 [9]; II Thess. 3 [7, 9], etc.), *hold to the custom of the Church* (I Cor. 11 [16, 14 36]; I Thess. 2 [14]), and *imitate the Lord Jesus* (I Cor. 11 [1]; Eph. 5 [2]; I Thess. 1 [6]), *or God Himself* (Eph. 5 [1]).

1. The first of these is a commonplace of mission work; when a man is working where Christianity is a new thing he must, whether he likes it or not, accept the responsibility of being an example. Dr. Macgregor of Amoy summed up his long experience in the phrase,[3] "The Chinese do what they see us

being subject to it. Unfortunately this gives no adequate explanation either of *διὰ τοῦτο* or of *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους* (see Lietzmann, *ad loc.*). It may be, as Lake (*Earlier Epistles*, p. 210) suggests, that the problem of the text is "likely to remain insoluble"; but if we seek a solution, it can scarcely be in Ramsay's direction.

[1] *The Little Minister*, p. 120.

[2] Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 210; Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Lietzmann, p. 128.

[3] Quoted by Moody, *The Heathen Heart*, p. 246.

doing." Dr. John Warneck [1] reports of the natives of the Indian Archipelago that "they look to their elders and teachers as examples, and these, in turn, to the missionary. Whatever they see these do, they try to imitate." John Kilner's advice to a missionary in Ceylon was,[2] "Be sure you put yourself into your boys." But surely no one ever proposed this with less of qualification than Paul when he wrote (Phil. 4 [9]), "The things which ye learned, and received, and heard, and saw in me, these things do." Such a rule, in the letter of it, could scarcely fail to be injurious, even if it were limited to the anxious time of transition, when the converts were finding their feet. Louis Stevenson [3] comments on the way in which, on some islands, "sorcery, polygamy, human sacrifice and tobacco smoking have been prohibited, the dress of the native has been modified, and himself warned against rival sects of Christians, all by the same man, at the same period of time, and with the like authority. By what criterion is the convert to distinguish the essential from the unessential? He swallows the nostrum whole; there has been no play of mind, no instruction. . . . To call things by their proper names, this is teaching superstition." But if any one of Paul's converts attempted in such slavish fashion to use his rule, he would have been bewildered from the first step. "There was no way," says Dr. Weinel,[4] "in which his congregations better realized

[1] *Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 275.
[2] Findlay, *Wesley's World Parish*, p. 117.
[3] *In South Seas*, Pt. I, Chap. X. [4] *St. Paul*, p. 351.

that morality is an individual art, requiring a delicate appreciation, than when the contrast between the demands the Apostle made upon himself and those he made upon his converts came home to them. . . . He did not marry, his converts were at least suffered to do so. He had no settled calling, they were ordered to have one. He took no money for his teaching, but he found it natural that other Apostles *should* work for hire. . . . To be his true follower one needed to copy the pattern of his life, not mechanically, but to assimilate it in heart and mind, as he had done that of Christ." But such a kind of imitation seems to fail just where and just when detailed guidance is most required,[1] for those who are able to imitate a life in its spirit and direction, and not merely in its outward detail, are no longer beginners; they hardly need a rule at all.

2. A similar difficulty arises in the application of the second principle—the practice of the Church. Paul asks in one place (I Cor. 14 [36]), "Did the word of God take its origin with you? or are you the only people to whom it came?" "If any man is disposed to argue," he says again (I Cor. 11 [16]), "I shall tell him only that we have no such custom, nor have the Churches of God." That is closely akin to one of Wesley's Twelve Rules for helpers,[2] "Act in all things, not according to your will, but

[1] One point of imitation on which Paul did insist was that his converts should work, and try to be independent as he was; that he calls "walking after the tradition ye have of us . . ." "imitating us" (II Thess. 3 [6-7]; cf. I Thess. 4 [11], Acts 20 [34-5]).

[2] *Abridgement of Summary of Methodist Law*, p. 107.

as a son in the Gospel and in union with your brethren." Such maxims have an immediately obvious value, in reminding a man that he cannot make a conscience for himself; in morals something wider and more authoritative is needed than a man's own feeling of what he thinks to be right. "If the Christian commonwealth is to be an ordered unity and not an anarchy, if the lives of its members are to be ruled by principles which, however flexible, are firm and constant, then there must be an inner law to which they always respond." [1] "An absolutely secure foundation must be sought for in that which is common to all rational beings." [2] In the passages I have quoted, Paul is pointing to some such general standard, to a rule which is raised above the variety of circumstances and temperaments, by which, in the last resort, all conduct must be tested. But such an ideal standard has little practical value for the man who is making his first stumbling efforts after a Christian life. He wishes to be told in detail what to do. "Feeling dimly that everything has become new, he will ask: May I still drink palm wine? May I graze my cattle on Sunday? Is it wrong for me to betroth my child at an early age? May I defend myself against the assaults of the heathen?" [3] Such a man cannot for himself collect the common opinion of the Churches, and if it were in his possession, he probably could not adapt it to his own case. A good man wants to do his duty, not what some neighbour, or a whole clan of neigh-

[1] Barbour's *Study of Christian Ethics*, p. 293.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 295. [3] Warneck, *Living Forces*, p. 278.

bours, thinks to be his duty. At the end of his first homily on women, Paul says, "We have no such custom, nor have the Churches of God"; but surely the Churches of the freer West did wisely in not submitting to the tyranny of some average of opinion in the Churches of the East. Circumstances and tradition were different, and the rule which had grown out of the one tradition was not applicable to the other. "If ten pounds of food is too much for a given man to eat," says Aristotle,[1] "and two pounds too little, it does not follow that the trainer should order him six pounds, for that may still be too much or too little,—too little for Milo the athlete, and too much for the beginner." There is in ethics a common sense, a general standard, to which wise men will have regard, but this cannot be directly applied as a binding law in all conditions. Certainly the novice in Christian conduct would find little help in the plan of striking an average; so that this second principle also lacks the character of a guiding rule in matters of detail.

3. When Paul bids his converts consider a higher Example, he is again proposing a standard most elusive, and unfit for the strict purposes of law. For one thing, it can only be applied by those who have

[1] *Nicomach. Ethics* (Peter's translation, p. 45), cf. p. 46: "Virtue is a habit or trained faculty of choice, the characteristic of which lies in observing the mean relatively to the person concerned, and which is guided by the judgment of the prudent man." With this may be compared what Pascal says of "finesse," a sort of intellectual and moral tact. In a moral judgment, the elements may be both subtle and detached from one another, but "finesse" brings them together (see *Pensées*, sect. I. 1).

made some progress in discernment. John Warneck alleges [1] that he and his fellow-missionaries "cannot present the picture of Jesus to our heathen Christians in the same way and with the same results as Paul in his Epistles. The human side of Jesus's person seems to have little attraction for the young heathen Christians. In Him they see God, and obey and serve Him as such; and His human perfection seems to them too far above ours. He becomes a pattern to those who cultivate a more familiar intercourse with Him." It is precarious to assume that the conditions in Apostolic times were materially different from those which confront the missionary to-day; when allowance is made for differences in civilization and in ways of thought, it may be taken that the conditions are largely the same. And this interesting distinction between the beginner and the more advanced believer in their relation to the example of Jesus is discernible in all ages, for the difficulty lies, as Aristotle shows, in the individual adjustment to life of an ideal or a principle. It is notorious that the example of Jesus has often been appealed to in a mechanical and servile fashion. In monasticism, e.g., the somewhat accidental notes of poverty, virginity, and submission were exalted as supremely Christian; and, in more recent times, the question "Would Jesus do this or that?" has been pressed in a way which is often irrelevant and almost profane. For the path which He followed was determined by His peculiar vocation; and much that lies upon other men as duty, or is open to them

[1] *Living Forces*, p. 275.

as lawful recreation, was excluded from His life by His engrossing task. Nothing in the Master's training of His disciples is more notable than the way in which He refrained from bidding them do everything that He Himself did. He did not impose upon them certain forms or certain hours of prayer, as John and the Pharisees seem to have done. Questions of binding and loosing in morals were left to them for settlement, for, like His great forerunner Jeremiah, Jesus looked to the law in the heart to keep men right. "In order to reach true conceptions of Christ's authority, or to pay it true reverence, we must respect the *mind* of Christ," says Professor Robert Mackintosh.[1] "If He asked for a spiritual obedience, literalism is not reverent but irreverent. Mohammed founded a system upon hard and fast rules. Loyola and Wesley rearranged Christianity by means of hard and fast rules and methodized emotions; the old covenant itself rested upon national law. But the Kingdom of God, in its very nature as an ethical society, is on a different footing. The family of God cannot yield a servile obedience." However suitable the attitude of that man may appear who looks for guidance always to the pattern of his Master, his temper is not that which the Master Himself desired. "Because I live," He said, "ye shall *live* also"; [2] His personality was to inspire, it was not to obliterate theirs. In that marvellous book *Robert Falconer*,[3] a raw beginner in good

[1] *Christ and the Jewish Law*, p. 179.

[2] This is not exegesis, perhaps, but it is a lawful application and extension of the saying.

[3] P. 473.

says to his master and hero, "I will always think what you would like"; and he is met with the reply, "You must think what is right, and where there is no right or wrong plain in itself, then think what is best. . . . You must do what *you* see to be right, not what I see or might see." That is entirely in the way of Jesus and of Paul His servant, and thus any slavish imitation is, from the first, excluded. These three pregnant hints certainly possess a general steadying value, but they do not secure that guidance in detail which weak men always desiderate, and which times of transition might seem to require. They have nothing in them of the character of statute, for in that Paul had lost all confidence.

In frankest opposition to the whole conception of law Paul sets his own proposal (Gal. 5 [18]): "If ye are led by the Spirit ye are not under the authority of precept" (ὑπὸ νόμον not ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον). To people who had glaringly shown how untutored and how facile they were, he declares confidently, "Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the desires of the flesh" (5 [16]); and in an utterance of still wider range, he exhorts them (5 [25]), "If, thanks to the Spirit, we are living men,[1] let our conduct also be controlled by the Spirit." The bold idealism of this moral

[1] ζῶμεν here has the pregnant sense of coming to a life worthy of the name; cf. Rom. 7 [9]—ἔζων—"I was alive once apart from law," i.e. without any sense of servitude I had a life which contented me. The effect of the Spirit's working is described by Johannes Weiss (*Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 21), "Wo bisher Schlaffheit, Verzagtheit, Nichtkönnen, Verzweiflung und Tod war, da ist jetzt neues Empfinden, neues Wollen, neues Können."

appeal seems so utterly out of proportion to the actual moral capacity of those to whom it was addressed that it compels examination. One's first instinct is to inquire if the Apostle really knew the danger in its fullness, or the character of his people, or if he had other forces in reserve to which he chiefly looked to save the situation. In following out this line of inquiry, one comes upon various attenuating or mitigating considerations, which make the contrast a little more intelligible, though they do not remove it.

a. For one thing, it has been urged that Paul looked for the end of the existing order as so near that he had little interest in the slow processes of moral education. Many zealous believers in the speedy Second Coming of the Lord have frankly excluded from their programme all that means working for the long result; their business is to testify, and if God wills it so, to convert; and they hurry over the ground, impatient and scornful of the suggestion that they should entangle themselves with projects of political or social reform. "The Lord is at hand": that discovers everything to them in a new light, and a host of distinctions are revealed in their native insignificance in presence of that vast and imminent event. In speaking of Luther's perplexing submission to the authority of princes, to whom was left the whole external appointment of a State Church, Dr. Oman remarks[1] that "this attitude was the easier for him that he thought the end of all drew nigh. A strongly eschatological

[1] *The Church and the Divine Order*, p. 223.

piety made him, like the early Christians, indifferent to forms and organizations." One cannot but feel, as he examines the exaggerated individualism of Jeremiah's doctrine, that something in it was due to the fact that he lived in a society which was rapidly dissolving; the steadfast things were disappearing as he looked, and therefore he was constrained to fall back on what is permanent. God and the individual soul, these were the "two absolute and luminously self-evident beings" of which he could take account. There can be no doubt that the same sense of transience did affect the decisions of the Church, making the leaders patient of a certain untidiness, of settlements which finally settled nothing. Professor Robert Mackintosh,[1] in discussing the decree of the so-called Council at Jerusalem (Acts 15), notes that it "brought nothing to a settlement except for the moment. Both parties looked with trust to the future—to the speedy conversion of Israel (*and the Parousia?*), to the conversion of a world of Gentiles such as took place." In that parenthesis there lies, at least, a partial explanation; why should they waste time in securing more than a provisional concordat? The Lord was at hand, and would restore all things. Any one who knows his own mind is aware of the presence within it of different ranges or levels of possibility, each of which counts for something in his determinations. He knows that, in certain events, he may succeed to an inheritance; his doctor has warned him of disquieting symptoms;

[1] *Christ and the Jewish Law*, p. 264.

he hears of the perfecting of new methods of manufacture which will revolutionize his business, and possibly ruin him. And though he pushes on his way, and lays out his plans, and takes hold of the earth in his stride, as if he were sure of it, yet here and there, his rigour of decision flags; he feels, What does it matter? and thus he does not push his contention to its last extreme, for one or other of the possibilities may declare itself, and change the entire situation. Paul vehemently prosecuted his appointed task; he captured centres of influence, he organized Churches and appointed officers; with every year he explored more deeply the meanings of the truth discovered to him, all as if he were providing for an enduring empire. But how many ends he left loose and ragged! A slave should not seek for emancipation, but should use his post in the household as an opportunity (I Cor. 7 [21]). The conception of marriage in the same chapter is provisional and raw. Partly, that may be construed as the thought of one who looked at the love of man and woman from the outside; but partly it reveals the mind of one who is legislating for an uncertain and a vanishing order. The same remark applies to Paul's allusions to the civil government. It was true that the provincials had the chance of seeing the Empire at its best, with all its hard efficiency, and they were affected more than native Romans by the imaginative glamour of its vastness and splendour. The Empire was a thing almost divine; the appeal to Cæsar was to a remote but ideal and impartial justice. That conception governs such a

passage as Rom. 13 [1-8] ; the civil rulers are " God's ministers," " powers ordained of God," and resistance to them is, in effect, " resisting the ordinance of God." But again, in the background, one is forced always to remember Paul's vision and hope of another Authority, which was speedily to be established. " The night is far spent," he says in the same chapter ; " the day is at hand." Why waste your time in cavilling, or in discontent ? Take the Empire at its worst, and it surely will suffice to hold the field until the eternal Kingdom be set up.

This prospect of the Parousia affects all the moral precepts at the close of the Philippian Epistle, but not in the direction of indifference. " The Lord is at hand," he says (Phil. 4 [5]) ; but the conclusion which he deduces is the Master's own conclusion when He bids the servants stand to their tasks. Just because that near expectation might so readily engender excitement and fanaticism, Paul is careful to say, Let your reasonableness be known unto all men. Since it might tend to make them impatient and querulous, he bids them, Be anxious about nothing. Lest it should make them narrow, he calls them to think of *all* things true, venerable, lovely, well reported. That is to say, instead of this prospect producing in them any carelessness about morals, Paul uses it as a stimulus to effort ; his unwavering conviction that the Master was coming wrought in him the desire that they should be ready to meet Him with joy and not with grief, that He should not have to say to His servants, " O ye of little faith."

β. A more serious explanation of the peculiarity we have noted is to be found in the Apostle's habit of attributing to his converts a measure of Old Testament training. His own conversion had been a religious rather than a moral transformation. He had served God, as he says, from his forefathers (II Tim. 1 [3]), which may be taken as meaning that for his moral training he was indebted to the Synagogue. Before he had even heard of Jesus Christ, his heart was engaged for duty, honour, purity, reverence; and it may be that he sometimes forgot how different had been the conditions of many of his converts. The Galatians had certainly at one time been heathen, and yet he says to them (3 [24]), "The Law (ὁ νόμος not simply νόμος) was *our* pædagogue unto Christ," which, as we have seen, is best explained upon the supposition that prior to his teaching, they had lived for some time within the circle of the influence of the Synagogue, and thus were already half prepared for the new venture of freedom. When he had to do with converts from Judaism, he interfered little with what had become for them habitual. He allowed and expected them to worship in the old ways, for the sanctions of conduct are not lightly to be interfered with. It was charged against him that he discouraged the circumcision of Jewish children (Acts 21 [21]), but his own language on this point is unambiguous[1] (I Cor. 7 [18]). John Henry Newman[2] explains the absence

[1] Harnack, *Acts*, p. 282; Weiss, *N.T. Introduction* (Eng. translat.), Vol. I. p. 238.

[2] *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, p. 205.

of a code of duty or ceremonial in the New Testament on the ground that these are already given in the Old Testament. "Why should the Old Testament remain in the Christian Church but to be used? There we are to look for our forms, our rites, our polity, only illustrated, tempered, spiritualized by the Gospel. The precepts remain, the observance of them is changed." That is an assertion, which involves a mournful misunderstanding of the claim of Jesus to provide a religion in which no outward rules were needed, but it might have been allowed by Paul in connexion with the Jewish proselytes of all degrees who passed over into the Christian Church. Their moral education had made a beginning, which he did not care to unsettle; for the time, at least, he was content to accept it and to build upon it.

γ. In mitigation of the difficulty which we are facing, it may further be noted that Paul was an evangelist much more than a pastor. His chosen business was to plant (I Cor. 3 [6]); he confesses that he never cared to build upon other men's foundations (Rom. 15 [20]; I Cor. 3 [10]); in his heart there was always sounding the appeal of regions beyond, where those who had not heard were to be found (Rom. 15 [21]; II Cor. 10 [16]). Such a difference is not merely due to the accident of circumstances, it is a matter of temperament and it largely affects the moral outlook. One who is an evangelist first, instinctively narrows his aim to the single point of bringing men to Christ, whilst the pastor, though not neglecting that supreme concern, labours con-

tinually to build them up in character. There is no exclusion on either side, but there is a marked contrast in stress and accent. The difficulties of which the evangelist is most sharply aware are religious, whilst the pastor is continually oppressed by consideration of the moral detail of life. Now, as Dr. Kähler has remarked,[1] the excellences which Paul rejoiced to see amongst his converts lay "in the religious rather than in the ethical region." The gospel came to the Thessalonians "not in word only, but in power and in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance." What he extols in the Corinthians is that they were so rich in faith, in zeal, in utterance (I Cor. 1 [5]; II Cor. 8 [7]); and he actually gives thanks that they come behind in no gift (*χάρισμα*),[2] though he immediately proceeds to reprove them for factiousness and their other vices. When, in the Galatian Letter (5 [19-21]), he gives a catalogue of faults, it is not such as a pastor would have given after years spent in the direction of individual souls; it is hasty and reiterative. A mischief which had thrust itself upon his attention as peculiarly obstructive of the work of God, is damned by him under many synonyms—"enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, parties, envyings." Ramsay[3] brings evidence to show the excess to which factiousness was carried in the

[1] Quoted by Warneck, *Living Forces*, p. 287.

[2] So in II Cor. 8 [7]—"as ye abound in *everything* . . . see that ye abound in this grace (of liberality) also."

[3] *Hist. Comment. on Galatians*, p. 446. He attributes the faults named to the *national religion* (fornication, impurity,

urban politics of Asia Minor, and Paul's clamorous repetition assures us that he bitterly felt its presence in these Galatian Churches. But that would not justify the conclusion that the enumeration given of their vices, lengthy as that is, may be taken as exhaustive. If Ramsay is right, and the population addressed in the Epistle was Phrygian,[1] "the nation born and intended to be slaves," it is certain that there were graver faults and faults much harder to eradicate than faction or even sensuality; only in order to know these, a man would have needed to spend a vastly longer time amongst the people than Paul, in his vagrant apostolate, could afford. It is surprising, e.g., in a man so fiercely sensitive to any imputation on his personal veracity, to see how little place he gives to the necessity of truth. In the Apocalypse, lying is held up for reprobation as a supremely ruinous vice (21 8, 27; 22 15). In the only conversation I ever had with Mr. Spurgeon, he appealed to my companion and myself if we had ever known a liar thoroughly reformed; drunkards, thieves, harlots we had, of course, seen leaving their vice behind—but a liar? Anything that Paul has to say on the subject is, in comparison, almost genial (Eph. 4 25; Col. 3 9—along with the doubtful I Tim. 1 10 and Tit. 1 12), which is extremely symptomatic. For what forces itself first upon the attention of an evangelist is not such faults of

wantonness, idolatry, magic), to *municipal life* (enmities, strife, rivalry, outbursts of wrath, caballing, factions, parties, jealousies), and to the *manners of society* (drinkings, revellings).

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 444.

character as make perfect reclamation difficult, but rather those social entanglements and fashions of behaviour, which hinder a man from taking the first step; and hence it comes that the mere moralist and the evangelist can never fully understand each other. The moralist may think that the other has lost all sense of proportion, when he rejoices in some initial step, whilst vices remain which are so flagrant and so clinging. To that the evangelist can only answer that the step which has been taken is after all the determining one. Dr. John Warneck,[1] e.g., insists that the act of parting with idols "cuts deeper into life and is a more vigorous transformation than the conversions we usually see in Christendom . . . and should not be reckoned of little value although other great defects adhere to the converts." "Like all members of the Malay race, the Battaks are by nature untruthful, insincere and cunning. The Christians are not, of course, absolutely reliable and truthful from the moment of their baptism; missionaries have abundant reason to bewail the lies of their converts. But the people recognize their faults and fight against them; they become ashamed of lying. . . . The Battak is by nature lazy; the Christians among them are everywhere diligent. Naturally timid, they become brave through their

[1] *Living Forces*, p. 246; p. 248: "The Battak elders and catechists beseech us to be indulgent towards the moral lapses of Church members, and would have even serious transgressions forgiven; but if a Christian should again sacrifice to ancestors, or have anything to do with magic, no earnest Christian will speak in his favour; he is regarded as one who has fallen back into heathenism, and therefore as lost."

confidence in God." [1] This real distinction in moral outlook and estimate may account at least for some of the peculiarities of Paul's ethical teaching. His constant aim was to bring men to Christ ; and taking it for granted that Christ would work in them a renovation of life, he ignored or, at least, he tolerated many faults of character. "When you come to us," says one Japanese Christian,[2] "come with a healthy human understanding and sober views. Do not imagine that a people can be converted in a day." It is this healthy, human understanding, making him patient even of grave faults, since Jesus Christ has power to deliver men from all, which we see in Paul ; and it gives a partial explanation of the boldness with which he cast the Galatian Christians upon themselves and the Spirit for the guidance of their moral life.

These suggestions may lessen our surprise at the scantiness of Paul's precepts ; we must not imagine that they explain it. He did not, like an absent-minded physician, forget to prescribe, he had no faith in prescriptions ; for, with many of the world's greatest moralists, he put all his confidence in the law which is in the heart. "No action is truly good,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 292 ; Robert Louis Stevenson (*In South Seas*, p. 85) speaks of a Roman bishop in the Marquesas who was "blamed for his indulgence to the natives. . . . It was a part of his policy to live among the natives like an elder brother, to follow where he could, to lead where it was necessary, never to drive ; and to encourage the growth of new habits instead of violently rooting up the old." This was probably lenity of another type, issuing from a different source.

which is not done for its own sake," says Aristotle, or "because it is a fine thing"; and if that be true, it follows that no moral education is of service except that which quickens the instinctive perception of the fineness of the thing. "If in making a child understand that this thing is right and the other is wrong, you make it *feel* that they are so, if you make virtue loved and vice loathed, if you arouse a noble *desire* and make torpid an inferior one, if you bring into life a previously dormant sentiment, if you cause a sympathetic impulse to get the better of one that is selfish, if, in short, you produce a state of mind to which proper behaviour is natural, spontaneous, instinctive, you do some good. But no drilling in catechisms, no teaching of moral codes, can effect this; only by repeatedly awakening the appropriate *emotions* can character be changed."[1] There, with a sort of hammering iteration, Mr. Herbert Spencer makes his point plain. Rabelais says that "there can be no greater dotage in the world than for a man to direct his course by the sound of a bell and not by his own judgment and discretion."[2] In his imagined Abbey of Thelema, the inmates spent their life "not according to laws, statutes or rules, but according to their own free will

[1] Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*, p. 384.

[2] At the opposite pole to this we find Newman (*Letters and Correspondence*, II. 180) lamenting the difficult task of deciding whether he should give a man the Sacrament or withhold it. "I do not know this man's heart, perhaps he has come religiously; but *rules* would dispense with the necessity of thus doubting." That, however natural it may be, belongs to the morality not of free men but of slaves.

and pleasure. . . . They did eat, drink, labour, sleep, when they had a mind to it. None did awake them, none did offer to constrain them to eat or drink, or do any other thing. In all their rule there was this one clause to be observed—*Fay ce que voudras.*" In Wordsworth's poem, Rob Roy says :—

> We have a passion—make a law,
> Too false to guide us or control!
> And for the law itself we fight
> In bitterness of soul.
> And, puzzled, blinded thus we lose
> Distinctions that are plain and few:
> These find I graven on my heart:
> *That* tells me what to do.

"Shall we consider morality" asks Leslie Stephen,[1] "as a law imposed from without and enforced by the sanctions of heaven and hell, or as defining the state of the heart or the will, which makes the law the spontaneous expression of conduct? Law, in the one case, has the juridical sense, and refers to a *compulsion* exercised upon the will; in the other, it has the scientific sense, and refers to the intrinsic character of the will itself." In his *Notes on England*, M. Taine betrays his surprise to find the English so scrupulous about not stealing flowers in public parks, and he adds, "that is perfect; the aim of every society is that each should be his own policeman and should require no other." [2]

[1] *Studies of a Biographer*, II. 248.

[2] Cf. Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 36, for the contrast made by Statius between Rome and the Greek cities of the South: "in Neapolis, people found the law in their own character, and practised equity without the compulsion of magistrates."

On the general question there is thus a wide agreement, but Paul breaks away from most of his fellow-moralists as to the stage of progress at which this principle may be applied. Aristotle, e.g., declares that "one who surpasses his fellow-citizens in virtue is no longer a part of the city. Their law is not for him, since he is a law to himself."[1] When Dante has come to the very verge of Paradise,[2] Virgil says to him, "Now take thy pleasure for guide; no more expect word or sign from me. Free, upright and whole is thy will, and it were a fault not to act according to its prompting, wherefore I do make thee king and bishop over thyself." The domination both of Empire and of Church fell away from a man who had reached such levels of character; he was a free man, able to look for direction within his heart alone.

It is easy to admit that a perfectly good man may be set free from law, but it is a different matter, as Paul does, to proclaim the same charter of liberty to mere beginners in goodness. Dr. W. P. Paterson, in his genial desire to do justice to every one—even the Roman Church—takes it[3] "as a lesson of the Old Testament dispensation that there is a stage of immaturity at which human nature is unfitted to appreciate the grandeur of a system of pure grace, and when it is necessary to bring it under the pressure of a scheme of rewards and punishments." He is clear that the Reformation brought men to more

[1] Alongside of this may be set Augustine's words, "Qui legem implet non est sub lege sed cum lege."

[2] *Purgatorio*, XXVII. 131–142. [3] *The Rule of Faith*, p. 263.

spiritual conceptions, but that the early stage was necessary. However ingenious such a view of the history may seem, we must not forget that it is one which Paul would have repudiated. For his plan for making men good did not start with law, and then pass on, as in a higher class, to what is spiritual; it was spiritual from the outset; and even babes in Christ were cast upon the teachings of the Spirit of Christ within them. It has been suggested that in this Paul was guilty of a sort of aristocratic ethics, the ethics of the superior person, as they are seen, for instance, in Milton. "Milton's tracts are all varied applications of one principle, the liberty of the wise man," says Emerson.[1] "His opinions on all subjects are formed for man as he ought to be, for a nation of Miltons. He would be divorced when he found in his consort unfit disposition, knowing that he would not abuse liberty.[2] . . . He would remove hirelings out of the Church and support preachers by voluntary contributions, requiring that such only should preach as have faith enough to accept so self-denying and precarious a life . . . and so, throughout all his actions and opinions, he is a consistent spiritualist." Nietzsche, that supreme aristocrat in ethics, declares bluntly that "not every one has the right to be an egoist. Whereas in some, egoism would be a virtue, in others it may be an

[1] *Emerson*, IV. 87.

[2] Cf. G. K. Chesterton's *Blake*, p. 79: "Heavy, full-blooded men feel the need of bonds and are glad to bind themselves, but the chaste are often lawless. They are theoretically reckless because they are in practice pure."

insufferable vice which should be stamped out at all costs" ; that is to say, a maxim which might be legitimate when applied to the highest and best becomes dangerous when applied to each individual of the mass of mankind. Now it may be admitted that, on the surface, Paul's assertion of liberty might seem to belong to this lordly group of doctrines —magnificently appropriate to select souls, but maddening and irrelevant for the multitude ; but as soon as we pass below the surface, we find that Paul's temptation lay rather in the direction of a democratic idealism. With all his heart he believed in the spiritual powers of the common man, *when touched by the power of Jesus Christ*. His standard is not the immense capabilities of exceptional persons, but the capacity which may be discovered in any one of whom Christ lays hold.[1] He frequently gives glimpses into his own soul, with the obvious expectation that these brawling and immoral converts would recognize in his experiences something to which they could show a parallel ; and he would

[1] Paul calls himself (I Cor. 9 [21]) *ἔννομος Χριστοῦ*, on which Schmiedel comments that "even Paul could not escape from laying down the foundation of the old Catholic Church—the *καινὸς νόμος Χριστοῦ*," but the similarity is in expression only. The law as it appears even in Tertullian is, in essential temper and in externality, the old law re-imposed ; to Paul the law of God or of Christ is an expression of what a man renewed by the Spirit of Christ asks of himself. This law has been embodied in the character and teaching of Jesus, but its activity and its authority are from within ; it is written on the heart. For this law from which a Christian man does not wish to be set free—cf. Rom. 3 [27], 8 [2, 7], 13 [8] ; Gal. 6 [2], etc.

hotly have repelled the suggestion of his latest biographer [1] that an immediate experience of God is the privilege of only a few religious figures in a millennium, for, like Joel, he expected that "on servants and on handmaidens" the Spirit of God would come. That democratic idealism was the faith of the early Church, and, though it largely disappeared in the ages of Roman domination, it was revived at the Reformation, and has not wholly left us since. Mr. Chesterton discovers it even in the novels of Sir Walter Scott: [2] "Remember the firm and almost stately answer of the preposterous Nicol Jarvie when Helen Macgregor seeks to browbeat him into condoning lawlessness. . . . Think of the rising and rousing voice of the dull and gluttonous Athelstane, when he answers and overwhelms De Bracy. Think of the proud appeal of the old beggar in *The Antiquary*, when he rebukes the duellists. Scott was fond of describing kings in disguise, but all his characters are kings in disguise. He was with all his errors, profoundly possessed with the old religious conception, the only possible democratic basis, that man himself is a king in disguise." It was so Paul thought of his converts. In themselves they were of little worth; but they were "in Christ Jesus," and as such they were "beloved of God, called as saints," and the Apostle felt that he could be surprised at no sublimity in their behaviour. They did not need to wait for liberty until, in Aristotle's phrase, they "surpassed their fellow-citizens in virtue." If they were led by the Spirit, that

[1] Deissmann, *Paulus*, p. 155. [2] *Charles Dickens*, p. 246.

supremacy in virtue would come; but before its arrival, he would have them look for direction, to a law which already in principle was established in their hearts. He by no means made little of their faults, but he so exalted the Power which had come to dwell in them that the huge demand of liberty, with its enormous risks, seemed to him in no way exorbitant. Like his Master, he regarded Christian morals not as negative but positive,[1] not as the repressing of energy but the finding of outlets for it in lawful channels, so he was never scared by tokens of energy misdirected. Like Jesus, he believed that it is a worse and more hopeless thing for man or Church to be lukewarm than to be definitely cold; and even in a gross and monstrous blunder he saw the possibility of saintliness. Edmond About said of Millet, the artist, "What I adore in him is that he sometimes goes wrong and makes absolutely earthquaking false steps. When he happens to set his foot upon uncertain ground, he sinks in up to the neck. I like him better for that than if he had learned from a master the habit of always doing pretty well." Paul shared that attitude, with the one important modification that his confidence in his people was simply a part of his faith in Christ. They might not be able to define what they had

[1] E.g. Eph. 4 [22-3], [28-9]; cf. Wesley's *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, "Religion does not consist in negatives, in bare harmlessness of any kind, nor merely in externals, in doing good, or using the means of grace, in works of piety (so called) or of charity; it is nothing short of or different from 'the mind that was in Christ,' the image of God stamped upon the heart."

experienced or what the goal of their journey was to be; they had heard a call which seemed divine, speaking of complete emancipation for them and for the world, and there is a breath of freedom on his face, which guides a man even when he walks in the dark. One thing in Paul's view was sure, that if the impulse which started them was of God, it might be trusted beyond the earliest stages. It would control, as it had inspired. The lust for liberty which has no goal except the breaking of bonds may easily become lawless, but the nobler kind of liberty is ever imposing restraints upon itself. "Love makes liberty stop of her own accord," says Dr. Percy Gardner.[1] "The limit of liberty is not a rule, however reasonable, but an enthusiasm." Rousseau, speaking of certain happy years, says: "I did what I wished to do, I was what I wished to be . . . I was entirely free, and better than free; for, subjected by my affections alone, I did only what I wished to do."[2] That is the character of the Christian liberty. The spirit of Christ takes possession of a man, and transforms him in the very springs of his affections, so that the longer he lives with Christ the more spontaneously he does what is right, because he wants to do it.

This receiving of the Spirit (Gal. 3 [2]) was regarded

[1] *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, p. 35; cf. Johannes Weiss, *Die Christliche Freiheit*, p. 13. "The emancipation of the person finds its liberty in the obligation to love and to serve."

[2] Rousseau, *Dixieme Promenade* (p. 620); cf. Cicero, *Paradoxa*, V, 1—quid est libertas? Potestas vivendi ut velis: so *De Officiis*, I, 20; Arist., *Politica*, Bk. v.

intuition of reality within themselves." No one would maintain that this is all that Jesus intended by His promise, but it represents a part of what He intended. In receiving the Spirit, men's faculties are cleared and disentangled; they are made more able to discern and to decide; and, in virtue of this, Jesus expected to find in them a certain noble instinct which would tell them where their duty called them.

One marked effect of the coming of the Spirit is the awakening of individuality. So long as men are lost in the mass, they cannot count for what they are worth; but the most astonishing results appear when persons, even of very humble powers, are thrown out on the way of independence. "I firmly believe," says Vinet,[1] "that it is to individuality we must look for the means of that social restoration, which is called for by people of the most diverse opinions"; but he adds, "I further believe that Christianity is destined to maintain in the world that individuality which is threatened by so many different causes." And this is brought about by that method of individualizing, which is God's way with men. When we talk of this in terms of the divine purpose, we call it predestination; but when we talk in terms of experience we call it the gift of the Spirit—that personal enrichment of nature, which is bestowed not indiscriminately but to each man in particular whom God addresses as His son. How closely this awakening of individuality is related to the coming of the Spirit, appears in one apparent exception. Dr. Loofs has described[2] the Roman Church as "the

[1] *Philosophie Morale*, p. 101. [2] *Symbolik*, I. 387.

mother of obedient children, but unable to educate them to religious independence. Where moral independence exists, it has come to pass not through the Church's training but in spite of it." The secret of this weakness is found in the fact that the Roman Church, whilst acknowledging the working of the Spirit in the Church, has been jealous and stinted in her acknowledgment of His working in individual men and women. And it is this individual working which calls a man's soul awake, and makes him energetically and courageously himself.

Another illustration of this inflaming of nature may be found in the letters of Dr. Marcus Dods.[1] He boldly declares that the whole secret of regeneration is contained in a familiar phrase of Sir John Seeley's, "no heart is pure that is not passionate." What brings life, brings heat and passion, so that any dull contentment with duty tends to make Christianity a failure. "It is our likings that determine our character," says Dr. Dods, "not our opinions, nor, in a sense, our faith, but our love and what we cleave to more than aught else." His mind at this time seems to have been possessed by the idea that what is characteristic of Christianity is a fullness of life and energy, a new vividness and intensity of living; and it is this which the Spirit brings.

In the line of Paul's general contention in the Epistle it may be here remarked that this quickening of a man's nature, whilst it is full of promise for his moral advancement, marks him out as singularly ill-fitted for subjection to statute. When Millet went

[1] *Letters*, II. 204, 206.

as a pupil to a Paris studio, his master (Delaroche) said of him,[1] "He knows too much and not enough." The rules of technique were often beyond him, for he had had little teaching or practice; but then, he had genius, and was continually above and beyond the rules. And the same observation may be made of a man's relation to law, when the Spirit of God has possessed him. "He knows too much, and not enough"; in Nietzsche's phrase, he is "beyond good and evil."

2. The gift of the Spirit is further presented in the New Testament, in a more theological aspect, as definitely an evidence of the victory of Christ. "The Spirit was not yet given," says John (7 [39]), "for Jesus was not yet glorified." "Being at the right hand of God exalted," says Peter on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2 [33]), "He hath poured forth this which ye do see and hear." To Paul (Eph. 4 [8] *seq.*) the various endowments and inspirations of the Church all appeared as the *reward* of Christ, risen and exalted. He had died upon the Cross to break the power of sin, and in His resurrection His victory was acknowledged of God, so that sin is now under sentence, and outstretched before a Christian man there lies the assured prospect of overcoming, of which the gift of the Spirit is a pledge (II Cor. 1 [22], 5 [5]; Eph. 1 [14]). "To walk in the Spirit" is thus, in Paul's thought of it, to walk triumphantly, for it is the gift of Him who now sits expecting until His enemies be made His footstool. When the Spirit came on any

[1] Romain Rolland, *Millet*, p. 50.

individual man, it was welcomed not merely in itself but for the significance which it had for his moral conflict ; it declared that in him also Christ's battle had been won, and that henceforth sin must be behind him and below him.[1] It is in this sense that the Spirit is described (Rom. 8 [23]) as the ἀπαρχή, the firstfruits of a harvest which will contain both redemption and sonship ; where the Spirit has come, Christ is bound some day to have all His will. " The Spirit and the inheritance thus hold together ; the Spirit is the present, the inheritance is the future participation of Christian men in the Kingdom of God. He who has given the one will certainly give the other also ; He who has begun will also finish, for God is faithful." [2]

3. This new fullness of life and this confidence of victory have an unmistakable bearing upon the moral life, but clearly, they might run out in the direction of mere extravagance. Paul was deeply reverent of the more extraordinary endowments, in which he claimed a share (e.g. I Cor. 14 [18]), but what he reckoned the distinctive fruits of the Spirit were such qualities of character as " love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, beneficence, fidelity, meekness, self-control." The Spirit, as Paul conceived, is " the

[1] Cf. Ruskin's comment (*Modern Painters*, Part IX—" Dürer and Salvator ") on Dürer's picture of Death and the Knight—" behind the Knight follows Sin, but Sin powerless ; he has been conquered and passed by, but follows yet, watching if any way of assault remains."

[2] Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes*, p. 70.

vital principle of the Christian life rather than an endowment for special occasions, and Paul verified it, not in sudden raptures or transient fits of religious emotion, or any mysterious excitement of the personality, but in the normal life of the Christian within the Church." [1] A spiritual man, in Paul's view, is a good man, or, at least, a man on the way towards goodness. God has laid His hand upon him, and he realizes the claim to obedience not vaguely, as it has been moderated and subdued in the custom of society, but with personal appropriateness. Since God has chosen him, and not, in a vague sense anybody, the duties required are not *anybody's* duties, but accurately and unmistakably his own. He is not under law, it is true, for God does not use the methods of compulsion with His friends; but "the Christian conscience may become as peremptory as any magistrate," in holding him up to his task. You must make the tree good, said the Master, if the fruit is to be good; but when the tree *is* good, no labour or uncertainty remains as to the result. A man new-born behaves as of course in a new way, and a personal religious life produces a personal moral life. "When I have the righteousness of faith reigning in my heart," says Luther,[2] "I descend from heaven as the rain maketh fruitful the earth: that is to say, I come forth into another Kingdom, and I do good works how and whensoever occasion is offered. If I be a minister of the word, I preach, I comfort the broken-hearted, I administer the sacra-

[1] Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 40.
[2] *Galatians*, Introduction, xcix.

ments. If I be a householder, I govern my house and my family, and bring up my children in the knowledge and fear of God. If I be a magistrate, I diligently exercise the charge which is given me from above. If I be a servant, I do my master's business faithfully. . . . Whatsoever he be that is assured that Christ is his righteousness, he doth not only cheerfully and well work at his vocation, but he also submitteth himself through love to the magistrates and their laws . . . because he knoweth that this is the will of God, and that this obedience pleaseth Him." It is a *joy* to the righteous to do righteousness, for he is fulfilling the end of his new creation.

The mere recitation of Paul's list of the fruits of the Spirit should be enough to impress the mind with the radical change of nature which is involved, for some of these virtues were discoveries of the Christian Church. "The last of them—self-mastery, was a Stoic virtue," says Dr. Glover,[1] "but the rest did not ripen easily in the Hellenistic world, and the rocky soil and northern slope of the Stoic garden were too hard for them. Most people would have said they were not virtues for men at all—rather for women and slaves, as Nietzsche and his followers would say to-day. Yet how much would be lost to life if these fruits of the Spirit were taken away or ripened no more!" Dr. Harnack[2] lays stress on the increasing place which joy takes within the New Testament, as the believers realized what had come into their possession. In the earliest narrative (in

[1] *The Christian Tradition*, etc., p. 131.
[2] *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 278.

Mark and Matthew), little is said about it, but Luke's "Gospel begins with joy (1 [14], 2 [10]), and with joy it closes" (24 [41, 52]). In Acts (2 [46]) we are told that the Christians "ate their food together with exulting joy"; the Apostles came with joy from the Jewish tribunal (5 [41]); great joy prevailed among the Samaritan converts (8 [8]), and the Ethiopian in his turn goes on his way rejoicing (8 [39]). "The spiritual sphere characterized by the words joy, peace, confidence, Saviour and salvation [1] is common to the Pauline, Johannine and Lucan writings. We do not fully know the ultimate origin of these terms as denoting religious conceptions . . . but the terminology could only be accepted when men had the thing itself, and the thing itself was not imported, but was a fact of Christian experience." What confronts us thus in Paul's catalogue of the fruits of the Spirit is a new kind of life, from which these graces proceeded as by a necessity of nature.

It should further be remarked that this was not a vague or impersonal morality, it had the impress of a personal character. The Spirit of God which was promised is the Spirit of Jesus, and this identification gave the idea precision and reality. Dr. Wernle [2] speaks of this identification as "an achievement (*eine That*) of the Apostle's." Ours is a historical religion, and the character, which the Holy Spirit by His presence establishes, is specifically the character of Jesus. "Selfishness and the senses," it has been observed, "write the laws under which we live, so that the street seems to be built, and the men and

[1] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 281. [2] *Die Anfänge*, etc., p. 160.

women in it moving, not in reference to pure and grand ends but rather to very short and sordid ones." In direct opposition to that, it might be said of the company of Christ's friends, as Paul knew it, that its laws were all contained in His character and example. To bear one another's burdens, he says, is to "fulfil the law of Christ" (Gal. 6 [2]); and to the Thessalonians he says (1 Thess. 4 [9]): "Concerning brotherly love ye have no need that one should write to you, for yourselves are taught of God (θεοδίδακτοι) to love one another." The Spirit of Jesus, in actual fact, became an organizing principle in the Christian heart, inclining and constraining men to think His thoughts and to follow in His way. "The morality of Paul, like all his other beliefs and ideas, is directly derived from his doctrine of salvation by faith. The Spirit who had redeemed his own life, and who worked within the Church, impelled men towards a particular kind of life. He who was united to Christ could not help practising the Christian virtues." [1] This conviction is the real secret of Paul's magnificent confidence in the sufficiency of Christian experience without a law. The power which had arrested him and now dwelt within him was the life of Jesus; Jesus was new-born in His servant's soul, and grew up there, and came to His fitting place. The life of a Christian man was lived by faith in a living Person, and its energies, standards, aspirations, achievements were all derived from Him.

Throughout the Epistles there is abundant evidence of the extent to which the ethical ideals were

[1] Gardner, *Religion and Experience of St. Paul*, p. 159.

borrowed from Jesus of Nazareth. Express references to evangelic facts are few, but the temper by which Jesus was animated is constantly in view.[1] "He was made of a woman, made subject to law, that He might redeem those who were subject to law" (Gal. $4^{4,5}$); there is discovered the working of a noble pity for creatures in bondage, which created a new ideal of self-sacrificing service in the world. "He loved me and gave Himself for me," says Paul again (2^{20}); and the extent of that surrender is betokened in one awful word, "He was made a curse for us" (3^{13}). That was the mind, the Spirit of Jesus, and it found expression in the lives of His friends. Walter Pater,[2] in his picture of the approaches of a heathen man to faith, lays stress upon this as one of the first things to be observed. "What Marius found was the vision of a natural, a scrupulously natural love, transforming all the relations of life. . . . He found a development of the family which did but carry forward and give effect to the purposes and the kindness of nature itself. As if by way of a due recognition of some immeasurable divine condescension, its influence was felt more especially at those points which demanded some

[1] This is developed in an interesting way by Dean Stanley (*Epistles to the Corinthians*, pp. 509–80); by Johannes Weiss (*Paul and Jesus*); by C. A. Scott (*Cambridge Biblical Essays*), and by Percy Gardner (*Religious Experience of St. Paul*, pp. 139–60). Sir W. M. Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, p. 39) insists that what gives force to Paul's appeal to the meekness and gentleness of Christ is the conscious sense that what He was, they must be also.

[2] *Marius the Epicurean*, Chap. XXII.

sacrifice of one's self for the weak, the aged, the little children, and even for the dead." What attracted even the outsider was thus a new type of character, which was none other than the character of Jesus Himself. The gift of the Spirit meant that Jesus had come to live in His servant, and it should not be surprising that His temper should appear in the man's words, his activities, his endurances. " Jesus Himself will teach thee how, in receiving thee, He makes thy sins His, and His righteousness thine. And when thou firmly believest this, then thou wilt bear patiently with erring brothers, making their sins thy concern. . . . He is a pitiable saint who will not bear patiently with those worse than himself, and who longs only for solitude when he might be exercising a healing influence upon others." [1]

A really beautiful example of the way in which the character of Jesus may unconsciously shape the character and even the policy of a living community is given in the story of the origin of the Methodist Classes.[2] It suggests how, if a man will only be Christian in simple matters lying near him, he may find his way through perplexities which more remotely confront him. " When we were thinking of quite another thing," says Wesley, " we struck upon a method for which we have cause to bless God ever since. I was talking with several of the Society in Bristol about the means of paying the debts there, when one stood up and said, ' Let every member of the Society give a penny a week till all

[1] Luther, *Letters*, pp. 5–6.

[2] Wesley's *Plain Account of the People called Methodists.*

are paid.' Another answered, 'But many are poor and cannot afford to do that.' 'Then,' said the first, 'put eleven of the poorest with me, and if they can give anything—well, I will call on them weekly; and if they can give nothing, I will give for them as well as for myself. And each of you call on eleven of your neighbours weekly, receive what they give, and make up what is wanting.' . . . It struck me immediately, this is the very thing we have wanted so long." The Classes which exist for spiritual fellowship, and which have so enormously enriched the life of Methodism, thus sprang from the suggestion of a man in whom was the brotherly heart of Christ; and the same Heart has guided men in every generation into similar originalities of conduct, wise, practical and permanent. If the character of the Master is truly described in the Gospels, it hardly needs to be said that this Spirit will never be individualist in its working; a man who gives it right of way within his nature will always desire not merely to be good, but to be good for something. The division of chapters should not conceal from us that, in Paul's view, one chief evidence of "walking in the Spirit" (5^{25}) is "bearing one another's burdens" (6^{2}). In the Galatian Churches it would appear that some of the members were correct in their behaviour, but in an ungracious and carping fashion (e.g. 5^{13-15}, 5^{26}, 6^{3}). They thought themselves something; and conscious of being, as they thought, "spiritual" (6^{1}), they were unsparing and rough towards those who stumbled. In this they were very far from the pattern of Jesus, but a sufficient cure is contained in the precept,

"walk in the Spirit," for that is not a vague force working for righteousness, it is the mind of Jesus Christ who was meek and lowly in heart, and who by His gentleness makes men good.

Paul was an idealist, and perhaps he did not make sufficient allowance for the risk of men's receiving the Spirit in vain. He was not blind to the temptations awaiting his unpractised converts, and like his Master, he might have said, "In the world ye shall have tribulation." But in spite of that knowledge, he committed them without reserve to the guidance of the living Spirit. He would not cravenly put them in subjection to a code of rules, when at their command they had a principle of righteousness so fertile and so expanding. In their first act of faith, they had committed themselves to One who not only was strong to guard them from stumbling, but would so enrich them in heart and instinct that they might always know their way. "What need is there of a law?" asks Chrysostom;[1] "for to him who inwardly provides for the better things there is no need of a pædagogue to take him to school." The law of Christ is not an alien thing to which, in slavish dread, a Christian man submits himself; it is the character of his Lord whom he loves and who lives in him; and as he learns more deeply to know that character, he seeks more eagerly that it may be repeated in his own.

[1] Quoted by Meyer, *Commentary on Galatians, ad.*, 5 [18].

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AND THE INDIVIDUAL

"Corrects the portrait by the living face,
Man's God by God's God in the mind of man."
—ROBERT BROWNING.

THROUGHOUT the Epistle, as we have seen, one note recurs: the individual, with his fresh experience of the mercy of God, has the right to stand up boldly against any tradition or accepted theory which would bar that experience out. But the very insistence with which this idea is presented may give rise to questionings, for in matters of this kind temperament accounts for much. Mazzini said of Carlyle that he "saw only the individual man face to face with the mystery of the Universe," and Dr. Holland Rose,[1] in his edition of *The French Revolution*, marks the same conclusion that Carlyle "felt little interest in the collective activities of our race." Can Paul be fairly treated in the same way?

Certainly he was a man in revolt, with something of the onesidedness which that implies, and we may ask if he did not, for the moment, forget that even a revolutionary has obligations, and that when he agitates for the dissolution of the existing order he

[1] Introduction, p. xxiv.

ought to have something to put in its place. It is easy for a thinker to prove his theory, if he begins by ignoring all the conditions which do not suit him ; but the real world has an awkward habit of thrusting unmanageable facts upon us, which dislocate our most ingenious combinations. Rousseau's scheme of education is worked out by a master and a solitary small boy, of which a modern critic [1] makes the reasonable complaint that " it is no more natural to treat as a typical case a child brought up in solitude than it would be to treat of the rearing of a bee cut off from the hive." The larger part of a healthy education is contributed by companions ; the free play of mind on mind, the clubbing of their slender stores of knowledge and experience, the discipline imposed by the necessity of mutual consideration—it is forces like these which set the education forward, and a scheme which allows no place for these is at once suspect. In praise of Cobden's sober realism, Mr. Trevelyan [2] says that " books of political economy used to begin with the words, ' Suppose a man on an island.' But Cobden's thought began with visible, starving Stockport, and having put a girdle round the commercial globe, it came back with gathered treasure of observation to end at Stockport again." If Paul's assertion of individuality is not to be left hanging in mid-air, we must consider its relation to the practical necessities of social life. When Coleridge [3] says, " Whatever finds me bears witness for itself

[1] Quick, *Educational Reformers*, p. 247.
[2] *Life of John Bright*, p. 56.
[3] *Aids to Reflection* (Bell's edition), p. 295.

that it proceeds from a Holy Spirit," he takes his stand apart, as a unit of existence, with convictions and a certitude which are his own ; and from that point he might have laid out the lines of a defiantly individualist theory. But his experience of life saved him from any such extreme, and he adds, " Here, perhaps, I might have been content to rest, if I had not learned that, as a Christian, I cannot—must not stand alone." When we conceive of a man as set apart in the Divine predestination, and as travelling on towards a Judgment Seat where each shall receive for that he has done, when we mark how, in mid course between these eternities, he has for himself found God or been found of Him, we may be awed by the spectacle and conscious that we are seeing things truly ; but we must not forget that there are other aspects of the situation.

A rudimentary fact, which is very relevant at this point, though Puritans have too often neglected it, is that man has a body, and, for good as well as for evil, is worked upon by influences of an external sort. Montaigne objected to the Reformed worship that it was too contemplative and immaterial for a creature so curiously entangled with a body as man is ; it did not take sufficient account, he held, of " the part which the senses play in the act of adoration—the thrill which seizes on the mind at the sound of chant and organ, or at the spectacle of gorgeous ceremonial, and pictures of the Passion, and crucifixes, seen dimly in the sombre spaces of cathedrals."[1] Such appeals may be not only discounted but con-

[1] Stapfer's *Montaigne* (" Grands Ecrivains Français "), p. 88.

demned by a multitude of spiritual thinkers; and yet many, who in themselves find no response to these, are forced to admit that in other lives they are instruments of the profoundest impression, and thus are not to be dogmatically excluded as if they had no possible place within the administration of the grace of God. In a fragment of *Autobiographic Memoir*, Newman [1] speaks of "his conviction gained by personal experience, that the religion which he had received from John Newton and Thomas Scott would not work in a parish, that it was unreal . . . that Calvinism was not a key to the phenomena of human nature as they occur in the world." That is a challenge most skilfully directed, for what does an ordinary minister of Christ find *in his parish*? He may come upon a certain number of markedly individual experiences, and if he deliberately aims at such, these may be frequent; but many of those on whom he most relies in work have nothing separate to record. They are faithful, sober, reverent, and, on occasion, they may reveal depths of Christian feeling, but they have little knowledge of the solitudes of God. Their life is rooted in the community, and whatever colour and fragrance and fruitfulness it

[1] *Letters and Correspondence*, I. 107. With this may be compared Dr. W. P. Paterson's (*Rule of Faith*, p. 260) ingenious and masterly exhibition of the Romish system as "an attempt to make Christianity more effective and useful as a working religion. . . . In its peculiar features, it is largely intelligible as an adaptation of Christianity to the very real limitations of the ordinary man." Such a description suggests the immense religious inferiority of the Roman system; it does not imply that it has no useful function in certain cases.

exhibits, would seem to be determined by influences which are common.

If we follow up the suggestion given in Newman's phrase, and consider what confronts an ordinary man in his parish, we must first deal with the question of *origins*,—under what influence and in what conditions the better life of men appears. There are, as I have said, cases of exception, but in the main it must be allowed that the deepest impressions are not the result of a deliberate appeal. Like wind-borne seeds, germs of truth, and ideals of character, and standards of value may touch the mind, and be blown away, perhaps, a hundred times ; but in some way that looks like accident, the seed does find a lodgment, it anchors itself, and remains. The tone of voice in which the name of Jesus is pronounced may make a mark more lasting than that of any sermon ; the sense that in his mother's life prayer is as necessary and natural a part of the day's business as food or sleep, may establish in a man a certain prejudice of the mind ; the perceived fact that what is mere mystery to him is not mystery to those whom he trusts most fully may draw him by infection nearer the heart of what he has not understood. Faith and the habit of a Christian life appear in ten thousand instances as the summation of a multitude of detached impressions, for all of which a man is indebted absolutely to his Christian environment. "We are born through the Gospel of that free woman Sarah, the Church, to be true heirs of the promise," says Luther.[1] "She carries us in her

[1] *Galatians*, p. 352.

womb, in her lap, and in her arms ; she instructs and nourishes us, and fashions us to the image of Christ until we grow up to a perfect man." From the Church's title of Mother, Calvin [1] bids us learn " how useful, nay, how necessary the knowledge of her is, since there is no other means of entering into life unless she conceive us in the womb and give us birth, unless she nourish us at her breasts, and keep us under her charge and government until, divested of mortal flesh, we become like the angels. . . . Moreover, beyond the pale of the Church no forgiveness of sins and no salvation can be hoped for, as Isaiah and Joel testify " (Is. 37 [32] ; Joel 2 [32]). " Our first thought of God came from the Church," says Dr. Steven,[2]—" that portion of it which we call the Christian home ; our emotions and our actions have all been shaped and fashioned by the Church. The whole complicated fabric of our mental life has been the creation of the Christian community." Even where it might be imagined that the Church would count for least—in aggressive work in a heathen people—we are continually told of its service. " The heathen are converted not, as a rule, by the Bible, but by the Bible as interpreted by the Church," says Mr. Campbell Moody.[3] " We may

[1] *Institutes*, IV. Chap. 1. 4.

[2] *Psychology of the Christian Soul*, p. 283.

[3] *Saints of Formosa*, p. 244. I remember hearing Professor Luthardt preach on the Ethiopian and Philip, and his main point was expressed in the rolling sentence : " Nicht die Schrift ohne die Kirche, und nicht die Kirche ohne die Schrift, sondern zusammen sie suchen die suchende Seele."

almost say, in a far deeper sense than that originally intended, 'there is no salvation outside of the Church.'" In another place [1] he declares that "it is hard to say which kind of influence has the larger promise in it, whether it is a greater thing to get individuals to accept Christianity, or to persuade communities to mitigate their unfriendliness and abandon their scorn." Dr. John Warneck,[2] with great frankness, discusses the same question, and he recalls how, in Tahiti, after sixteen years of patient work by the missionaries, not a single inhabitant had been baptized; that then the King, Pomare, recognized Christianity as the religion of the island, and by that act secured for the preaching a wholly different welcome. In this direction it seems as if we might easily involve ourselves in the ancient debate as to whether hen or egg came first. Men are creatures of the State which they have themselves created, and being fashioned under the constraint of its law and custom they constantly endeavour to refashion it. The child grows up into a frankly Christian life under the discipline of the Church's example and worship; and yet when his eyes are fully opened, he will look beyond these nearer influences to that discriminating, personal love of God who gathers His people "one by one" (Is. 27 [12]). The sacrament of infant baptism is an enduring witness that the community is one originating fact in life. Professor Robert Mackintosh,[3] in his very

[1] *Saints of Formosa*, p. 59.
[2] *Living Forces*, p. 146; cf. pp. 137, 145.
[3] *Insufficiency of Revivalism as a Religious System*, p. 27.

early days, said that this is "the great rock of offence to the triumphant revival. The Church's tradition is anti-revivalist"; and though the words are needlessly polemical, the sense is discernibly sound. For the hypothesis of baptism is that the community into which the child has been born contains some vital energy which the ever active grace of God can use as its instrument. In the sacrament the new-born child is regarded as a portion of the community, depending for its furtherance upon the life which surrounds it; the children of believers, says Paul, are already "holy" (I Cor. 7 [14]). This conception has been elaborated in recent times, and Ritschl actually regards the Christian society and not the individual as "the object of justification," which "is passed on to the individual as the result of his taking his place in the Christian fellowship and sharing its life." [1] This is a position which can be maintained only by doing violence to the language of the Apostle; [2] but no one need hesitate to accept

[1] Paterson, *Rule of Faith*, p. 375; Ritschl's own words, *Justif. and Reconc.*, III. 130, are: "Justification or reconciliation is related in the first instance to the whole of the religious community founded by Christ, and to individuals only as they attach themselves by faith in the Gospel thereto."

[2] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 123, think that such passages as Acts 20 [28]; Eph. 5 [25]; Tit. 2 [14] are "quite as unambiguous" on the one side as, e.g., Rom. 3 [26], 4 [5], 10 [4], etc., are on the other, which is to talk as dogmatists rather than as exegetes. Dr. Oman, *Church and Divine Order*, p. 61, says wisely: "What is expressed collectively may derive its significance from what is experienced individually."

the conclusion of Sanday and Headlam [1] that "Justification is normally mediated through the Church. . . . The Christian sacrifice with its effects, like the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement by which it was typified, reach the individual through the community." That is not to be understood as a dictum in theology, which is not their strong point, but an observation of experience "in a parish," and as such it is widely true. But if we follow back the Church's life to its beginnings, we come upon something which is not of the community, thoughts and sights of God which are closely individual and personal. These may have been appropriated, and embodied in form and ritual, and thus passed on to other generations; but the Church, as a corporation, has no original title to them, and they are really understood only by the men and women in whom they are renewed. When the last word has been said for the Church as the necessary channel of God's grace, the individual, mystical claim abides. As Warneck puts it: [2] "The more I come to see that the gaining of the whole people for the living God is the only basis for the training of the individual to faith, the greater is my

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 123. Some light is thrown upon the meaning of the word "normally" by an unconsciously humorous note in the same book (p. cviii) about the present Bishop of Durham: "His point of view approaches as nearly as an English Churchman is likely to approach to Calvinism." To such writers "normally" means, if the English Church of to-day be taken as the norm; but "there are hills beyond Pentlands, and lands beyond Forth." There are other and more searching standards to be considered.

[2] *Living Forces*, p. 185.

gratitude for the conversion of our Ama Dahambawo, who, in his inmost heart, has grasped the essence of the matter, and now is giving it forth to others. Such men are not laboriously sought and won ; they are given by God, and must be prayed for as a gift from God." The society may seem indispensable for the shaping of all lives as they come, and dogmatists may find room for nothing else ; but here and there a life stands out indispensable to the society, a life at first hand, an express reminder that the primary relation is with the individual.

Whatever difference there might be as to the Church's place in the origins of life, there can be none as to its value for *the support and the enriching of life*, and that in many ways. With what may seem like childish and extravagant detail, Newman presents the matter from his Romish point of view :[1] " To feel yourself surrounded by all holy arms and defences, with the sacraments week by week, with the priests' benedictions, with crucifixes and rosaries which have been blessed, with holy water, with places or with acts to which indulgences have been attached, and the whole ' Armour of God '—to know that when you die you will not be forgotten, that you will be sent out of the world with the holy unctions upon you, and will be followed by Masses and prayers : to know in short that the atonement of Christ is not a thing at a distance, or like the sun standing over against us and separated off from us, but that we are surrounded by an atmosphere and are in a medium through which this warmth and light flow in

[1] Ward's *Life*, I. 241.

upon us from every side, what can one ask more than this ? " There, with the elaboration of a superstitious system, the power of an embodied religion is expressed ; and with varying degrees of clearness, the advocates of other forms of worship would give a similar report. Bishop Butler [1] urged upon his clergy " the keeping up, as well as we are able, of the form and face of religion with decency and reverence. . . . The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself ; but the thing itself cannot be preserved without the form." And a Protestant of a very different type—Dr. Robert Mackintosh [2]—has confessed that " when the hour of intellectual doubt comes, it is much if the doubter can see before his eyes the fellowship of saints. . . . The young doubter who lives under our cold order sees little in the Church of his birth except a collection of men who hold barbarous and old-fashioned opinions which it is unthinkable that he should ever share. That is one reason why, as a friend once said to me, doubt ' cleans out ' a man so utterly as it does. Touch his intellectual clearness, and nothing is left to him."

In considering this ministry of support and enrichment, a beginning may be made in the region of doctrine, for there any native narrowness of mind or

[1] *Charge delivered to the Clergy at the Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Durham*, 1751. Alongside of this dictum of Butler's, it may be allowable to set a caustic warning of Dr. Oman's (*Faith and Freedom*, p. 57) : " If there is no inward tie the institution is vital ; for keeping peas together the bag is a necessity."

[2] *Insufficiency of Revivalism*, p. 31—written in the latitudes of Scottish Presbyterianism.

shallowness of experience will at once bring a man to a halt. An ordinary believer, alone with his own soul and with the word of God, would never attain to the rich and various magnificence of the Catholic faith, and what he would omit would be by no means the least important parts of the creed. Principal Forsyth [1] has ingeniously suggested that " the sense for the Church idea and that for the Trinitarian idea stand or fall together. The mentality which ignores the one tends at last to ignore the other." M. Loisy,[2] with whom one is glad sometimes to agree, says justly that " a durable society can alone maintain the equilibrium between tradition, which preserves the heritage of acquired truth, and the incessant toil of human reason to adapt ancient truth to the new needs of thought and knowledge. It is inconceivable that each individual should recommence the interrogation of the past on his own account, and reconstruct for his own use an entire religion. Here as elsewhere, each is aided by all and all by each." That is written with reference to those who are actively engaged in the quest for truth, but it is scarcely less true of the plain man with his sluggish mind. In his life he does not utilize every part of the faith he professes to hold ; his working creed is composed of a few very simple articles ; and yet the fact that his life is so much rooted in the Church gives him a certain possession and even a certain enjoyment of truths which lie beyond his actual range, and which belong rather to the Church's

[1] *Contemporary Review*, July, 1911.
[2] *The Gospel and the Church*, p. 223.

faith than to his own. "The sublime and abstruse doctrines of Christian belief," says Coleridge,[1] "belong to the Church; but the faith of the individual, centred in his heart, is or may be collateral to them." So far as the individual is concerned, the relation might be turned the other way; in his faith, as life and temperament have shaped it, certain articles of the common belief stand out clearly, and it is rather "the sublime and abstruse doctrines" which are collateral to these. Obscurely, a man is conscious of things which are sure though he has not fathomed them, and that vague sense makes the world of thought in which he lives seem deeper and more wonderful. It does not extend merely to the limit of his own apprehension, there to break away, but reaches out into other continents of which wise men have told him, and which are also for his enrichment. He may not have courage, or energy, or leisure, to traverse them for himself, but they are not, therefore, without reality for him; he has a title to them, *pro indiviso*, not as a separate person to do what he wills with his own, but as a member of a community he has a share in what is a common possession. "God gave men truths in His miraculous revelations," says Newman,[2] "and other truths scarcely less necessary and divine in the unsophisticated infancy of nations. These are transmitted as 'the wisdom of our ancestors' through men, many of whom cannot enter into them nor themselves receive them,—still on and on, from age to age, not the less truths because many of the generations through which they

[1] *Table Talk*, p. 174. [2] Ward's *Life*, I. 45.

are transmitted are unable to prove them, but hold them either from pious and honest feeling, or by bigotry and prejudice. That they are truths it is most difficult to prove, for great men alone can prove great ideas or even grasp them. . . . Moral truth is gained by patient study or by calm reflection, silently as the dew falls, unless miraculously given, and when gained, it is transmitted by faith and by prejudice." This attitude to truths not personally explored or appropriated may be less common in the Protestant than in the Roman Communion, but its influence is by no means to be despised, for wherever it is found, it gives a man a confidence, even at second-hand, with regard to matters which belong to the life of God.

This element of the communal possession of truth may affect, in important ways, the life of seemingly irreligious men. There can be no doubt that the immediate tendency of Reformation teaching was to make religion more personal and individual than it had been. The conscious believer was brought into a closer personal relation with Christ than he would have found in the offices of the Church ; but what was the effect of the change in a slack or negligent worshipper ? In becoming a negligent Protestant, he did not stand where he did, for the lines in the new system were more distinctly drawn, and he was allowed and even warned to think of himself as an outsider. Until he had faith in Jesus Christ, no good thing was expected of him ; no duties were required, no consolations were secure. He might not be left to live and die " without God and without hope in the

world," but he was admonished that he was actually without God, and he readily took himself at that common valuation. Dr. Bliss[1] confesses that personal religion was greatly benefited by the Reformation, but he adds that "the common consciousness of God" seemed to suffer loss. The most heedless Roman is aware that he belongs to the Church, and that to the Church are given in possession the mysteries of God, so that he has a property in these also, even though it be remotely and at second-hand. Something of the same distinction may often be observed between a well-trained English Churchman and a Scottish Evangelical; both may have become careless in the extreme, but the Englishman is not so crassly and utterly negligent as the other. The one was reared in a faith which was strongly individual, and which had nothing on which he cared to lay hold; the other grew under the constraint of a sober, communal piety, rich in traditions and in manageable duties which were not confined to the notably devout. He may be on the extreme fringe of the Church's territory, touched with almost Arctic cold, but he does not feel that he is outside of it; and he knows that that territory reaches away to sunnier and more fertile climates. Thus, in experience, he is frequently found to be less inaccessible than his Scottish neighbour; and his mere shadow of a religion may easily, in favourable conditions, take substance and become a reality in his life.

But this share in the heritage of truth is not the only treasure which the Church communicates to her

[1] *Religions of Syria*, p. 6.

members. There is also a treasure of experience and of moral attainment. I have somewhere read an imaginative description of the feelings of a cultured Roman when he passed over into the Christian Church ; in a single moment, he seemed to make an enormous experience. His own thoughts up to that point had been groping and ill assured ; prayer and faith and fellowship with the Unseen had all been matters of question, but in the communion of saints, into which he was now received, the day of questioning was over. In this new relation, he found himself instinctively associated with prayers, rejoicings, certainties, which were beyond his proper measure, and yet there was nothing of insincerity or pretence. In becoming a part of this larger unit of existence he had transcended the limitations of his own being, and been made free of a different world. This is not peculiar to religion, but is a commonplace of the psychology of the crowd. A man giving himself up to the mood of the multitude loses some part of his distinctiveness of being, and is swayed by impulses and governed by ideals which are common. He is no longer a spectator judging others by standards of his own, his individuality is extended, it may even seem to be submerged. Mr. Henry Newbolt [1] elaborates this experience as it is seen in the life of a big public school : " Our character as members of a society or fellowship is something different from our individual character when we were living apart. There is a latent fire in our souls which does not burn up until it gathers an accumulated force by the con-

[1] *The Twymans*, p. 100.

tact of life with life. There is a certain infection of nature which goes from one of us to another as if by some chemical process, so that our juxtaposition and our common life give to us all some new qualities. We here are not merely the same six or seven hundred isolated souls that we should be if scattered over a wide area and unknown to one another. As we sit here side by side, with one purpose and aim, uttering the same words, thinking the same thoughts, stirred in some degree by the same impulses, and penetrated by the same influence, our spirit moves, as it were, all together, in something like a rhythmic harmony. We feel that something has been added to us, that we are not the same as before we met. For the time, at any rate, if not indeed for all time, our life is a different thing; for by merely coming together we have created a new element of life, which is reacting on every one of us with its influences, as the case may happen to be, either invigorating or fatally injurious." This enlarging of nature in the fellowship of the Church opens the way for the working of what are called "the means of grace." In the acts of common prayer and praise, if these are scrutinized, the supernatural elements are present in a far larger degree than in the ordinary moods of a man apart. Trouble is pushing him hard, as he comes into the house of God; he is barely able to keep his feet at all in the rush and conflict, and only with an effort is he recognizable as a friend of Jesus Christ; but there is no feigning and no forcing of himself in the outflow of heart with which he joins in prayer and song. The scandal of his Christian

life has been that the Lord has not been his Shepherd, but by infection, he is now drawn into participating in the Church's assurance. The common faith comes in to reinforce his struggling life, and under its influence he becomes a better, saner and more believing man. The prayer he could have imagined for himself would have been stinted, groping, despondent, whilst the prayer which is the Church's is large, sure, persistent, prevailing ; and through fellowship, without any touch of unreality, he passes over from one to the other. This is even more strikingly exhibited in the service of Communion which, as Luther says,[1] is "the property of the Church," not merely of individuals. In it we have to do not merely with a service of commemoration, for the Lord Himself is present, giving of His own life to His friends ; and by our participation in it, we declare that His sacrifice is for us both nourishment and reviving, that since He died and lives our sins are forgiven, and that it is our life to feed upon Him. No service of the Church is so absolutely in accord with the tone of the New Testament as this, which rejoicingly proclaims a redemption complete, and a new life in the love of God. But those who share in this ordinance are not habitually of New Testament mould. Their hearts are not at all times inflamed by praise and love, at best they fain would have such hearts. But nothing could be more disastrous for them, nothing could more certainly fix them in their present conditions of penury, than for each man to order his worship accurately in the measure of his actual

[1] *Letters*, p. 336.

attainment. The common worship needs to be larger, loftier, more universal than the mood of the average individual; and this ideal and inclusive standard is maintained as the property of the Church which may serve by its fellowship to raise the standard of its members.

A lad who has been reared in Christian surroundings is often disappointed with his own lack of definite or new impression when he is formally received into the fellowship of the Church; but this disappointment is due to the fact that the Church, with all her glaring defects and weaknesses, has in a measure done her work, and has enriched him with standards of judgment, and a furnishing of hopes and ideals and aims. "One needs to go abroad," says Campbell Moody,[1] "in order to learn what an inheritance we have received,—not Christianity simply handed down from our fathers, but handed down in ever-increasing wealth, like capital with accumulating interest, or like an estate fostered and improved by careful stewardship. . . . All unawares to ourselves, and sometimes in spite of ourselves, we have acquired a sublimity of thought, a tenderness of feeling, a depth of love and hate in our nature, a capacity for apprehending the preciousness of Christ such as earlier generations of the Church knew nothing of." "Not only the Christian Scotsman but even the unchristian, unconverted Scot or Englishman is in many moral and religious aspects far ahead of the Christian Chinese."[2] When a man whose standards have thus been created

[1] *The Heathen Heart*, p. 92. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

by Christianity comes consciously to accept the dominion of Christ in his life, he cannot know what a cultured heathen does who enters the Church by conversion ; he makes a passage, as it were, *within* a kingdom, from the outskirts to the metropolis, he does not, with the same amazement, enter upon a wholly new kingdom of existence. But he will not for that reason disparage the ministry of the Church which has been God's instrument in bringing him thus to Himself.

One other aspect of life may be noted in which the individual cannot be self-sufficing ; he absolutely requires the *discipline* of a society. Even so militant an individualist as Vinet confesses [1] that " isolation is not the natural condition either of a man or of a Christian. In no sense and in no sphere is it good for a man to be alone. Faith is kindled by contact with faith ; and in rising from the faith in mere authority to the faith which rests on personal conviction and experience, a Christian finds himself in relations with all those who have thus risen along with him. One authority succeeds to another ; it is now the authority of example and of love, or, to give it a better name, it is the Divine Spirit which makes of these gathered fidelities a sacred fire, maintained continually by his own breath." The city has been described as " the grand invention by which man emerged from his primitive savagery." Within it there are stored the discoveries and achievements of former times, and they are superstitiously preserved even by those who scarcely understand what they

[1] *Discours sur quelques sujets religieux*, p. 421.

mean. But what is of far greater importance, the crowding together of so many diverse interests compels men to consideration of what is common, and thus it imposes even on the most assertive the lesson of self-restraint and self-sacrifice. If this constraint is refused, a prompt collapse is bound to follow. "It explains a hundred things in the French Revolution," says Mr. Hilaire Belloc,[1] "that every sucessive step reduced society to a mere number of men. . . . Roland was Minister of the Interior, that is, he was responsible for order, but he had nothing with which to work. On the Tuesday he sent to Santerre and said, Call out the National Guard, but Santerre answered that he could not gather them. . . . That utter disintegration which the theories of the Revolution had produced, that purely voluntary condition of the soldier, the official, the police, was irresistible when there was spontaneity of action; but it was useless where the conditions demanded organization and initiative." That historical note exposes the weakness of individualism as a policy, and it finds applications of the gravest consequence in the Christian life. Jesus aimed not only at individual men and women, but anticipated a kingdom with the free play of life upon life and the blending of competing claims. He spoke of an *ecclesia*, the general assembly of a new Israel, with its common life. That is to say, He looked forward to something of the nature of a society, in which man should lean upon man, and each should know the discipline of mutual reliance and service. Such a conception

[1] *Danton*, p. 226 (Nelson's edition).

carries us far beyond the demands of individual religion, and offers a larger idea of what salvation means. As imagined by its Founder, Christianity pointed towards a coherent social order, with a radical transformation of the world as He saw it. Differences of opinion may to-day arise as to what we first should aim at and what instruments and methods may suitably be employed ; but there should be no division as to the necessity, for Christ's service, of some social drill to curb our native instinct for doing as we like. This should not be a discipline exercised from without by officials, however appointed, over a people undiscerning and passive ; [1] the law of the new covenant is in men's hearts ; each for himself should have some instinct of his Master's purpose, and each should be ready to be taught and guided by his fellows, as quick to acknowledge his neighbour's claim as his own. " Individualism for us meant muddle," says Mr Wells ; [2] " it meant a crowd of separate, undisciplined little people, all obstinately and ignorantly doing things jarringly, each one in his own way." That is a sorrowfully accurate description of the Church of Jesus in many of its parts.

[1] This is easily said, but the actual tracing of the lines is extremely hard. Dr. W. P. Paterson (*Rule of Faith*, p. 296) notes that " the Reformers were not unaware of the limitations of human nature ; and to Calvin it seemed necessary to reconstitute the Church with a system of discipline so searching and effective as to ensure that the weak and erring would be effectually tutored, governed and restrained." But that scheme, in its operation, was simply a new law, with little of the evangelical note appearing in it.

[2] *The New Machiavelli*, p. 144.

The great tasks which He has committed to His people remain undischarged, whilst they stand apart as individuals, each soul jealous of its own rights, or customs, or inspirations, and refusing the discipline and the instruction of the common life.

The force of such considerations appears already in the earliest of Paul's Epistles (I Thess. 5 [14]), but the impression seems to have deepened as he grew older. One of his disciples (Heb. 10 [25]) warns his readers against the danger of "forsaking the assembling of themselves together, as the custom of some is," which may point to such a bias towards separatism in religion as Luther had to contend with. Of this we have no other information; but certainly, in the Ephesian Letter, if that may be taken as authentic,[1] we find Paul attaching to the community an almost extravagant importance. The Church stands towards Christ as the bride does to her husband (5 [32]), no longer separable from him but "one flesh." Any progress towards a full manhood (4 [13] *εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον*) depends upon sharing in the gifts

[1] Weinel, *Paul*, p. ix: "It cannot fail to strike us as curious that in this Epistle (Eph. 2 [20]), the writer speaks of the Apostles (including himself) as the foundation of the Church (no longer Christ as in I Cor. 3 [11]); nay more, that he calls them (including himself) 'the holy Apostles.' This is the language of a later age." One may be doubtful of Weinel's parentheses in this sentence. Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, p. lix) think that the contrasts between Romans and Ephesians depend "upon the amount of vital energy thrown into the two Epistles." Ephesians they understand as an old man's work, languid and laboured (cf. Philem. v. 9).

bestowed by God upon the Church, where not only miraculous gifts like tongues and healings were exhibited, but where men were born anew and cared for and built up in character. The phrases used are so strong as to suggest an actual change of front in the Apostle. Wernle [1] accounts for this by a reference to the actual conditions of Paul's work. In seeking recruits for the Church he was bound to exalt it as the one way of salvation, and even to distinguish those within from those outside of it as the saved and the lost. "On the other hand, as a true disciple of Jesus, he sought to get rid of any confidence in the Church, and to set every individual for himself in presence of eternity and of that divine judgment which is against every man that worketh evil. Since Paul was both Churchman and Christian, there came to be a wavering or even a contradiction in his utterances. . . . But this 'yea and nay' cannot be Paul's last word. Redemption as he conceives it is only found where the individual man becomes assured that he is a son of God and that nothing can separate him from God's love. This certainty is far removed both from dependence on any connexion with the Church, and from any wavering between hope and terror in the prospect of the Judgment Day. It is a purely personal thing, true for oneself alone; each must experience it for himself as no man can give it to him." Dr. Oman [2] deals with the same problem in a rather more *a priori* fashion: "Paul is supposed to have developed this more cor-

[1] *Anfänge*, p. 133.
[2] *The Church and the Divine Order*, p. 61.

porate idea of the Church (Eph. 4 [13], 5 [26] etc.) as he meditated in prison at Rome, the centre of the world. But such a change would be an abandonment of the vital things in his early faith. The process which he found so powerless when it wrought through the Jewish society, he is not likely to have turned to in his old age . . . and an experience which he had apart from the Church and by which he became a member of the Church is not likely to have been put last and the Church first. The only question is whether a figure of speech is not unduly pressed. What is expressed collectively may derive its significance from what is experienced individually." [1] Pascal asserts that a wise man should always have a thought in the back of his mind, by which he judges of all things, even though he may talk as those about him do ; [2] and Paul's *pensée de derrière* was still of the individual relation to Christ, although various practical necessities were constraining him to assign an ever-larger function to the Church.

It is instructive to notice, how, for lack of this fundamental Pauline assumption, thinkers of various schools have been driven to surrender to the Church out and out. Many of the Modernists who have broken with their Church in matters of scientific opinion, appear still to be unable to think of religion

[1] Cf. Eph. 4 [6]: One God and Father of all, who is above all, and *in you all*. Barclay (*Apology*, p. 354) speaks of " the arisings of life " in each particular man, which may " become as a flood of refreshment and overspread the whole meeting."

[2] *Pensées*.

in any way except as dependent on the fabric of a society. By the time he wrote *The Gospel and the Church*, Loisy's corrosive and unsympathetic thinking had left him with a tradition of Jesus so slender as to have no attraction for the heart; and perhaps for that very reason, he falls more abjectly back upon the Church. "The Church is as necessary to the Gospel as the Gospel is to the Church."[1] "As the Kingdom of Heaven was conceived as a society not as a coalition of fervent individualists, so the Christian community naturally formed societies and confraternities. They needed the preservative element of all society—authority." Alas, for the dream which cheered Jesus and Jeremiah and Paul, of a law in the heart! "The Church is not as Protestants would have it," says Taine,[2] "the assembling of agitated souls, each independent of the others; nor, as the early Christians thought, is it the gathering of men united by a common ecstasy, and an expectation of the Kingdom of God. The Church is a body of ordered powers, an institution existing by itself. It does not dwell in its members, or depend upon them, for its source is in itself." That is the Roman theory, which has been elaborated and adorned until the Church is quite as divine as its Master.[3] And yet, when the Church is more closely scrutinized and the rhetoric is cleared away,

[1] *The Gospel and the Church*, p. 151.

[2] *Voyage en Italie*, I. 280.

[3] Cf. Dryden's—

Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed;
'Twere worth both Testaments, and cast in the creed.

we cannot but discern in it, along with much that is helpful and supernatural, the enormous bulk of what is purely natural and of this world. As an expedient, it has been greatly used and honoured by God in His Providence, as serving His ends, nourishing and educating His children ; but it is an expedient which, like other tools and instruments, has a history, and which, even in its elaborated form, retains traces of the stages through which it has passed. However proudly the Church may erect herself, as if she were all divine, yet the chief safeguard of her pretensions is the obscurity of history and the ignorance of men. Services to which she calls her people bear traces of old pagan usage ; vestments to which she clings as symbolic had a perfectly natural origin in considerations of heat and cold ; in the ranks and grades of clergy, and in the forms of their consecration, it is possible still to discern nothing more divine than a series of compromises between conflicting systems. Even the arrogant claim to judge—" Securus judicat orbis terrarum "—which so mightily affected the mind of Newman, is little able to stand investigation. " Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," was once jeeringly rendered by Venables : " That which in the year 325, in the insignificant little town of Nicæa, was carried by the vote of a single bishop " : [1] and though no jeer ever goes to the roots of a question, yet a very small puncture may serve to bring an inflated bladder to a quick collapse.

[1] With this slim jest may be compared John Selden's saying that " the Holy Ghost is the odd man," whose vote decides a division in a Church Council.

Grave witness of the mundane origin of the Church is furnished by the records of its swift degeneration. "One who looks at the facts," says Sir William Ramsay,[1] "must ask whether religion naturally develops from the lower to the higher stage, or whether Paul was not right in declaring that religion tends to degenerate among men. So far as the history of the Mediterranean lands reaches, I find only degeneration, corrected from time to time by the influence of the great prophets and teachers like Paul." In 1833, Newman [2] records an impression of Rome which is so favourable as to give force to the strictures when they come. "The Roman clergy are said to be a decorous, orderly body, and certainly most things are very different from Naples. There are no trumpery ornaments or absurd inscriptions in the streets, profaning the most sacred subjects, and the look of the priests is superior. But there are (seemingly) timidity, indolence, and that secular spirit which creeps on established religion everywhere." Dean Milman said that "established religions always tend to Pelagianism in doctrine," that is to say, to that type of doctrine in which God counts for least and man for most. Russell Lowell,[3] writing as a historian and critic, notes that "fanaticism or, to call it by its milder name, enthusiasm, is only powerful and active so long as it is aggressive. Establish it firmly in power, and it becomes con-

[1] *The Cities of St. Paul*, p. 23.

[2] *Letters and Correspondence*, I. 316.

[3] *Among My Books*, essay on "New England Two Centuries Ago."

servatism, whether it will or no." "In prosperous times," he says again, "the faith of one generation becomes the formality of the next." This observation is by no means confined to Christian history. "All human religions," says Dr. John Warneck,[1] "obey the law of the attraction of the earth . . . God Himself must interpose in times of degeneration, and work against the law of gravitation;" and Dr. Warde Fowler [2] remarks upon the fact that whilst as a young man, Cicero "defined *religio* as the feeling of the presence of a higher or divine nature, which prompts men to worship — to *cura et caerimonia*, he came, later in life, to use it of that *cura et caerimonia* apart from the feeling." Dr. Schechter [3] actually seems to regard with complacency this replacement of feeling by ceremony in the religion of his nation. "It is a noteworthy feature of Judaism that theological speculations have never resulted in the formulation of any imposing or universal doctrine but usually in divers ceremonial practices. . . . The Rabbis speak of woman as having brought death and grief into the world; but the conclusion was that since woman had extinguished the 'light of the world,' she ought to atone for it by lighting the candles for the Sabbath." On all levels of religion when embodied in the practice of a community there is visible the same moving away from what is primary and divine to what is secondary and trivial, the doing of what is usual, the observing of the custom of the

[1] *Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 103.
[2] *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 460.
[3] *Studies in Judaism*, p. 289.

tribe; and it cannot be surprising that to many serious observers the community, in spite of its manifold service, should thus have appeared to be a dead weight, an actual hindrance in the discharge of the religious functions which, at first, it was intended to secure.

In the Christian Church this torpor of the institution may be remarked on different sides of life. For the indifferent Church member, as for Cicero, the "*cura et caerimonia*" tend to occupy the whole field of religion. Many parents in evangelical congregations are attentive to having their children baptized, but they give nothing of teaching or example, scarcely even the example of church attendance; or where that is maintained, it becomes a sort of *opus operatum*, an act complete in itself and not intended to have consequences. Their attitude as they listen is entirely detached and external, for the bare notion that the words spoken are vitally related to conduct and to feeling is not allowed to enter their minds. The story which I have elsewhere quoted of an outbursting of revival in Wales through the routine reading of the Litany is significant mainly for its uniqueness; for, if there were not a thick muffling veil tied close about ears and eyes and every sense in the ordinary congregation, such outbursting of emotion would seem normal and natural. The record to which appeal is made—"by Thine agony and bloody sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion"—is so tremendous and so moving, that the mere rehearsing of it might be expected to work for revolution. The words are spirit and life, but the Church, as constituted and

maintained by long tradition, is so much a thing of this world that it is able even to blunt and deaden them so that commonly they are heard without result.

It is scarcely needful to speak of the Church's insensibility in the field of morals. In every Christian land, the great pitiful souls to whom their fellows' wrongs first make appeal have commonly been Christians; but it is not less true that the Church, as such, has been indulgent of wrong, and has often made herself the champion of all sorts of unrighteous privilege. Drowsily and timidly, here and there, she may have hinted dissatisfaction; but no one who has learned of Jesus, whose "eyes were as a flame of fire," would ever speak of the Visible Church as a continuator of the incarnation in the region of morals. For He sought out for His protection those who had no possible claim upon Him; whilst the Church, through centuries, has shown herself indifferent to the evil conditions of those outside her borders, and has had to be goaded into action in defence even of her own poor members. It is individuals, not institutions, that are the hope of all movements of reform.

Even in the investigation of truth, this torpor is seen assailing the Church. It is a familiar part of the psychology of crowds that the interests, which break down the limits of individuality and fuse the separate souls in one, are seldom brave or new ideas. As Nordau expounds it,[1] if you have ten men

[1] Cf. Henri Bois, *Psychologie des Réveils*, p. 26.

gathered about a table, each a master of some minor branch of knowledge, their talk will not be briskest over any one of these, but on something in which they all may have a part. If the Church be a fallible, secondary, human expedient, it may seem natural that the same law should apply to it, and that only the commoner aspects of truth should win general assent. But that is a great *if*. For if, as is maintained by many, the Church is first of all a divine thing, it ought to have instincts and movements after the fullness of truth. We know in part, but the Church should always be reaching after the whole. Yet that has not been her attitude. Newman [1] confesses that "it is individuals not the Holy See that have taken the initiative and given the lead to the Catholic mind in theological inquiry. Indeed it is one of the reproaches urged against the Roman Church that it has originated nothing, and has only served as a sort of *remora* or brake on the development of doctrine. And it is an objection which I embrace as a truth; for such I conceive to be the main purpose of its extraordinary gift." "Why was it," he asks again [2] in a somewhat different mood, "that the Mediaeval Schools were so vigorous? Because they were allowed free and fair play, because the disputants were not made to feel the bit in their mouths at every other word they spoke, but could move their limbs freely and could expatiate at will. Then, when they went wrong, a stronger and truer intellect set them down,—and as time went

[1] *Apologia*, p. 265.
[2] Ward's *Life of Newman*, II. 49.

on, if the dispute got perilous and a controversialist obstinate, then, at length, Rome interfered—at length, not at first." That is a perfectly intelligible account of the diplomatic working of the mind of an institution, and it describes a secondary ministry by no means to be despised; but if the community is the primary fact, the proper object of justification, the body in which the Holy Spirit resides and through which alone His virtue is communicated to men and women, surely some nobler attitude to truth might have been anticipated; and since there is still so much to learn, free men, as taught by Paul, will rejoice that they are not dependent on the Church alone for their advancement in the truth.

If we look even to what is the Church's admitted function, we shall find how vastly she is indebted to the individual experience for help in discharging it.

1. For one thing, it is that experience which brings to the Church its most essential elements. Mere numbers give no security of wisdom. "The voice of the majority is more likely to be *Vox Diaboli* than *Vox Dei*, if it be not, at bottom, the voice of individual judgment and personal conviction." [1] That is to say, in order to secure a society able to guide itself, you must first find men who do not need to wait on the guidance of any one. The best society is like a company of friends, where all are different, and respect and welcome each other's differences, and where no one thinks of

[1] MacCunn, *Ethics of Citizenship*, p. 116.

subduing his peculiarity to the dull average. A society composed of people jealous for individual liberty may freely unite in common action, and its decisions will carry all the greater force because it is the sum of so great a body of individual spontaneities. That is Paul's dream of the Christian community; each man should be in it, on the clear understanding that if all the world went away, he would remain. To home, to Church, to education, a man is indebted for bringing him so far on his way to God; but in what is determining and enduring there can be the intrusion of no third party, for that is the secret of God and the soul He has made. Passionately Paul maintained the need of individual decisions, bidding men use their own eyes and trust their own souls; and he did this even in the interest of the Church itself, for he felt that only under these conditions could its life be unfettered and rich. The Spirit of Christ, which takes any one apart and makes him a man indeed, speedily begins to affect him as a member of society. It makes him first cry (Rom. 8 [15]; Gal. 4 [6]), "Father, dear Father!" but then, says Paul (Phil. 2 [5-7]), the mind which was in Christ Jesus who emptied Himself will appear in his people, and nothing will be done through factiousness or vainglory, but each will count other better than himself. This renovation of society through the redemption of the individuals composing it has effects which lie far out. "The doctrines of the Reformation deepened the character of the people, reacted on their habits of life, and *gave a tone to their industry*," says Mr. Benjamin

Kidd.[1] "Latin Christianity has always tended, as it still tends, to treat as of the first importance not the resulting change in character in the individual, but rather his belief in the authority of the Church and of an order of men, and in the supreme efficacy of sacramental ordinances which the Church has decreed itself alone competent to dispense. On the other hand, the central idea of the Reformation was the necessity for a spiritual change in the individual, the recognition, in virtue thereof, of the priesthood in his own person. As Professor Marshall (the economist) states, 'man was ushered straight into the presence of his Creator, with no human intermediary; life became intense and full of awe, and now, for the first time, large numbers of rude and uncultured people yearned towards the mysteries of absolute spiritual freedom. The isolation of each person's religious responsibility from that of his fellows was a necessary condition for his higher spiritual progress.'" But Dr. Marshall goes on to show in detail how this creation, through a personal experience, of free men furnished the community with a new race of energetic and serviceable citizens, and thus set the world forward on the way even of material progress. For a healthy society, the awakening of the individual is indispensable.

2. A second office which the individual experience can render to the community is the securing of a standard by which to judge itself an office most necessary if the community is to survive. "We

[1] *Social Evolution*, p. 297.

should remember," says Lowell,[1] "that the human mind when it sails by dead reckoning, without the possibility of a fresh observation, perhaps without the instruments necessary to take one, will sometimes bring up in very strange latitudes." It is easy to assume that what has always been held may still be held without change to-day—easy but perilous; for no account is taken of the currents which have silently deflected the mind and made dead reckoning illusory. Burke has given us few weightier maxims than this, that "a State without the means of some change is without the means of conservation"; but how is the State or the Church to become aware of its need of change, unless it have at hand some corrected standard by which to judge of its position? Decay may creep upon it unobserved, not only affecting the practice of the community, but the very eyes and intelligence with which that outward change might be observed. Insensibly, in point after point, the paganism which is always with us may regain its supremacy; and as Hosea[2] said of Israel, "Gray hairs are here and there upon him, and he knoweth it not." In Loisy, who represents the quite unmystical type of Roman Catholic, one sees the jaunty supposition that anything—in belief and practice—whatever its origin may have been, may become Christian simply by being adopted into the Church. "The Church can fairly say that in order to be at all times what Jesus desired the society of His friends to be, it had to become what

[1] *Among My Books*, "Essay on Witchcraft."

[2] Hosea 7 [9].

it has become ; for it has become what it had to be to save the Gospel by saving itself." [1] The same proposal was addressed to our Lord in the Wilderness, when it was suggested that, to keep Himself alive, He might make any use of His power He pleased ; and His rejection of the proposal is conclusive. God sees no necessity for His Church to live (" out of the stones He can raise up sons of Abraham "), but He sees a tremendous necessity, if it live, that it be true to His ideals. " We boast the triumph of Christianity over paganism," says Emerson,[2] " meaning the victory of the spirit over the senses ; but paganism hides itself in the uniform of the Church. It has taken the oath of allegiance, but it is paganism still. It outvotes the true men by millions of majority ; it carries the bag, and spends the treasure, and writes the tracts, and elects the minister, and persecutes the true believer." But if that be the case, how imperative is the need of some proper court of appeal !

Newman, in his Anglican days, looked back to primitive times as giving him such a standard : " We rule ourselves by what the Church did or said before this visitation (of division) fell upon her." [3] But who will maintain that the age of the " Robber Synod " was immaculately Christian ? and even if there were accessible a primitive standard of uncorruptness, who is to guarantee the purity of intention of those who make appeal to it ? And therein

[1] *The Gospel and the Church*, p. 150.
[2] Vol. IV, p. 318.
[3] *Letters and Correspondence*, II. 358.

consists the urgency of falling back not on ancient phrases but on the original experiences, not, with antiquarian zeal, to investigate them, but as men living under the administration of the same grace of God as those of old time knew, to repeat them. "We cannot shut our eyes to the fact," says Dr. Inge,[1] "that both the old seats of authority—the infallible Church and the infallible Book—are fiercely assailed, and that our faith needs reinforcements. These can only come from the depths of the religious consciousness itself." "This is the historical function of Mysticism," he says again ;[2] "it appears as an independent, active principle, the spirit of reformations and revivals." Mr. Tyerman[3] was standing on the firm ground of history, when he described Wesley, Whitefield and Howell Harris as "three great reformers, because three great revivers of pure and undefiled religion." The Reformer's office is not, as Newman complained, "with antiquarian zeal" to strike back at what is obsolete ; he strikes through. He sees what this religion of Jesus, in its originality, is, and thus he can judge of the vagrancies of the Church in departing from it. What shocks him is not that changes of practice have come, for these in a living society are unavoidable. "Old principles," says Newman[4] justly, "reappear in new forms. The Church changes with them in order to remain the same. In a higher world, it may be otherwise ; but here below, to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often."

[1] *Christian Mysticism*, p. 329.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
[3] *Life of Whitefield*, II. 531.
[4] *Essay on Development*.

It is not change that bewilders, but such change as overlays and obscures the principles themselves. And to judge of that, the Reformer has one sufficient standard in his continually fresh apprehension of the original experience. He

> Corrects the portrait by the living face,
> Man's God by God's God in the mind of man.[1]

Loisy,[2] who in the things of the soul is commonly an undiscerning creature, has been led to a generalization whose significance he, apparently, did not himself realize. "Harnack says that 'down to our own day in Catholicism, inner living piety and the manner of expressing it have remained essentially Augustinian.' How wise is the theologian to note this contrast between the most individual piety and the Church of law and imperialism! *All Catholic reformers have been Augustinians.*" That is more than a historical observation, linking Jansenius with his forerunners and his successors; it is the acknowledgment that reformation is possible only for the men of the open face. Dean Milman[3] supplies the negative side of this great positive assertion, when he notes that "no Pelagian ever has worked or will work a religious revolution."

Such is the second service which individual piety may render to the community, and the nature and something of the limit of it is expressed by Mr. Abrahams[4] in his account of the religion of modern

[1] Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, Bk. X. 1873–4.
[2] *The Gospel and the Church*, p. 185.
[3] *Latin Christianity*, I. 150.
[4] *Judaism*, p. 77.

Israel. "Mysticism is the experience of one. Each does right in testing the corporate experience by his own; but he must not elevate himself into a law even for himself. That, in a sentence, would summarize the attitude of Judaism towards Mysticism; it is medicine not food." He says again,[1] "Judaism allowed to authority and law a supreme place. The Mystic relies upon his own intuitions, depends upon his own experiences. Judaism, on the other hand, is a scheme in which personal experiences only count in so far as they are brought into the general fund of the communal experience." These sentences, with but little change, might be applied to the place which the individual religion ought to have in the life of the organized Christian Church, if its health is to be maintained.

3. But the greatest of the functions discharged by individual experience in the life of the Church is, on occasion, to give it a new beginning, for the course of Christian history is terrible in its reminders that there may be such a thing as a dead Church. Of that the Lord Himself gave warning in His message to the Church in Sardis, "Thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead." The Roman Church, under the presidency of such men as Leo X and Alexander VI was a mournful and indecent spectacle, which might have seemed to justify the fierce words in Mark's Gospel about "the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not" (Mark 13 [14]). But the records of the English and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 68; cf. *Life of Francis Thompson*, p. 109.

the Scottish Churches offer illustrations of a degradation scarcely less complete. Of the "moderate" preaching in Aberdeenshire, Professor Masson [1] dryly observes that "it might have had something to say for itself, but it hardly required the events of Judæa to bring it within the reach of the human understanding." It is recorded [2] of an Archbishop of York in the eighteenth century that he told one of his clergy, "He would be better employed preaching the morality of Socrates than canting about the new birth," and of a later Archbishop whose charge to the first Indian bishop—Dr. Middleton—was, "You will not forget that you must do all in your power to put down enthusiasm." [3] Strange pastors indeed in the Church of Him who was straitened until He had given His life! And strange Church, in which such pastors could have been nurtured and brought to prominence! This torpor, as we see it in history, has not been merely negative, it has been actively tyrannous and repressive. When men such as Fox and Wesley were sent of God, the question which they encountered was, Why should any man wish to do what every man did not wish? Originalities of character and action were scornfully repressed, and many germs of promise were trodden out. From such a situation there is no escape except by the way of individual experience. In a dead Church, a man stands forth like the Baptist, irrepressible and indomitable;

[1] *Memories of Two Cities*, p. 217.
[2] Aug. Birrell, *Res Judicatae*, p. 16.
[3] Balleine, *History of the Evangelical Party*, p. 110.

when others are content with tenth-hand impressions, he insists upon seeing and proclaiming as at first hand. Beliefs which had grown old, harmless and easy of reception, are renovated in his burning heart, and by a strange infection of faith, they appear in the hearts of others. And thus the Church lives again, the Church which is the communion of holy men.

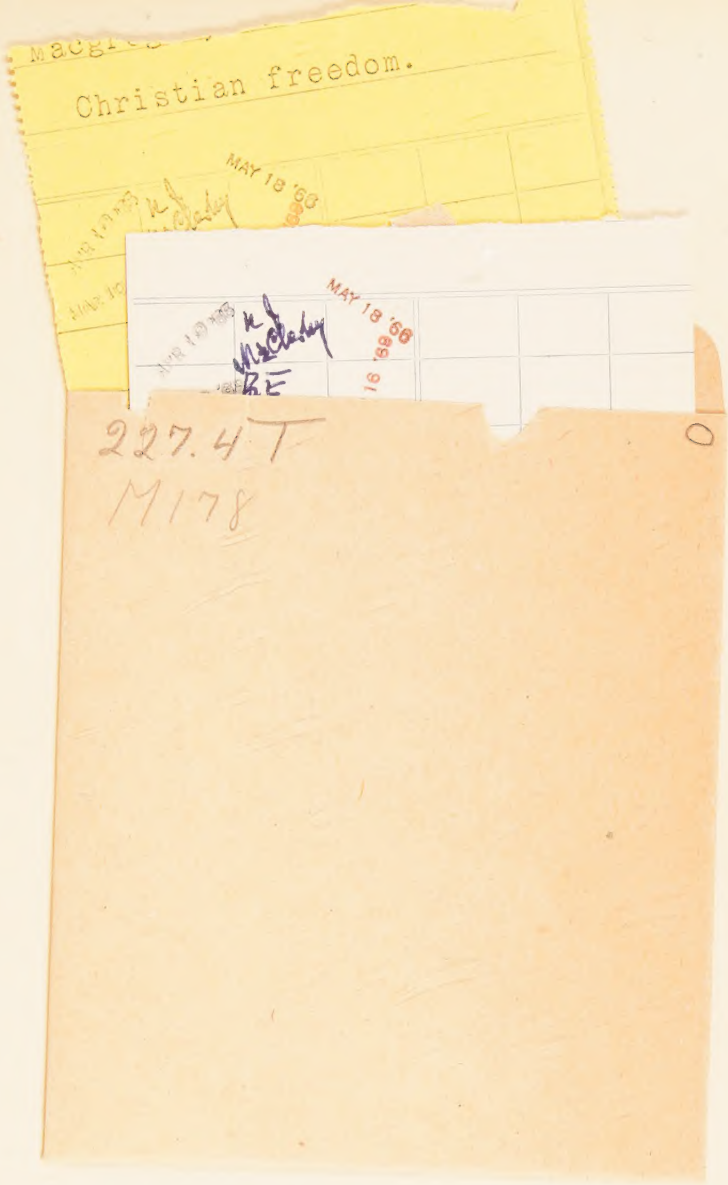
That is the moving wheel of history in the things of the Spirit. First of all is the individual experience, which has its remoter origins in some ministry of the Church in the past ; in the interests of permanence, and to make the experience transferable from man to man and from generation to generation, it is embodied in a community and a ritual in which the experience finds expression. But, in a little, men forget the meaning, and hold to the form as sufficient, and the experience thus falls out of sight, and the accepted forms may become a mere instrument of delusion. But God lives, the God who called Abraham "when he was alone" (Is. 51 [2]) ; He speaks to the individual heart, and energy, gladness, infection are seen once more. The Church is saved from itself by the perpetual working of this individualizing grace of God. "As a branch of the Church," said Dr. Rainy,[1] "we are fallible and may go wrong, so disastrously wrong as to become, according to our Confession, no Church but a synagogue of Satan. And there is a craving in many minds for something like a fixed external authority, to ensure our fidelity to, at least, the essentials of the faith. There is

[1] "Address at the opening of the New College, 1904."

no such authority and no such security. Our only security against apostasy is to be sought in faith, in prayer, in the work of God, in the presence and power of the Spirit, in the maintenance of fellowship with our living King. That is true of Churches even as of individuals. To place our trust elsewhere is itself an apostasy."

It is thus that Paul conceived of the life of the Church. He saw with growing clearness the immensity of the service which it might render to its members; they lived in it, and were blessed in it, and actually they appeared to have no promise of life apart from it. But he also saw that the Church itself is nothing, except as it is inhabited by the Spirit of God, which continually wakens individual men into life by that Church's teaching and fellowship. In recalling the course of his own coming to faith, he suffered the human agencies to drop entirely out of sight. "It pleased God," he said, "to reveal His Son in *me*," and the same personal illumination seemed to wait for others. And a Christian community is only of worth in so far as it gives opportunity for this quickening of life in the individual, and the unfettered development of that life in every sort of worthy service.

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London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